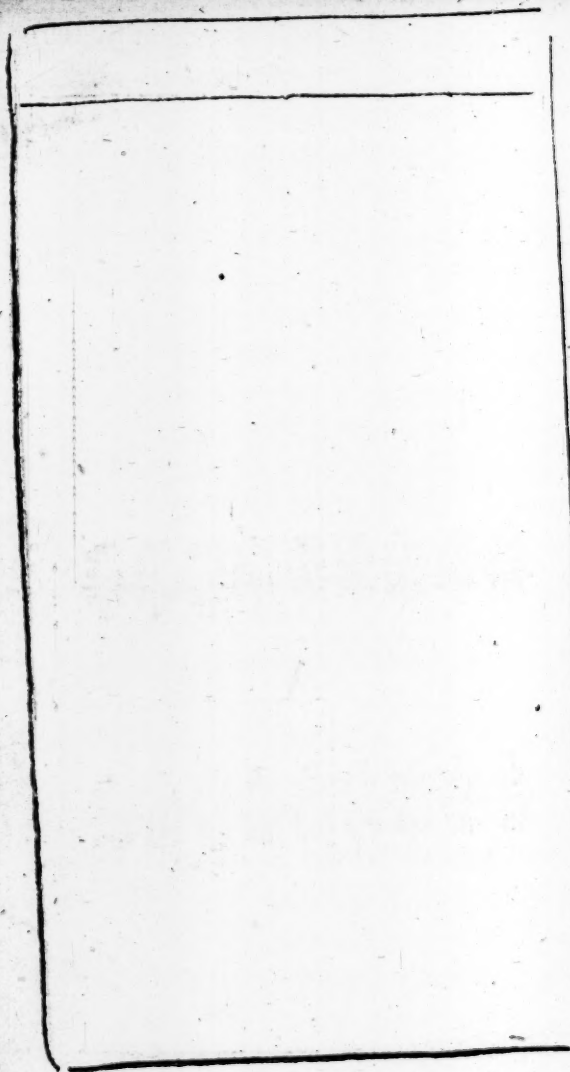
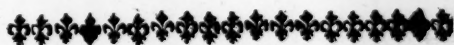




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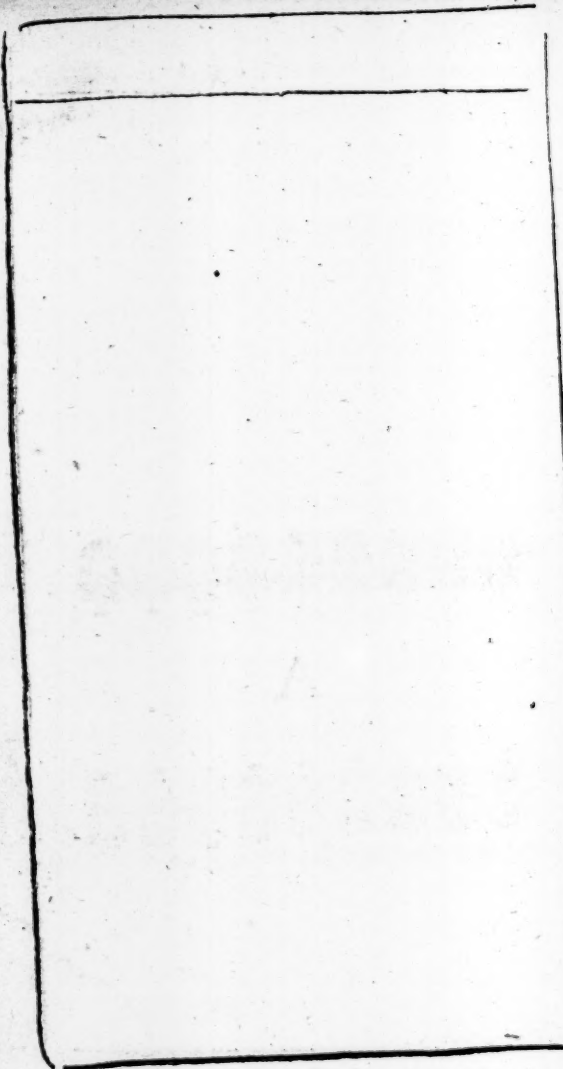






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TREATISE
OF THE
INTEREST
OF THE
PRINCES
AND STATES
OF
Christendome.

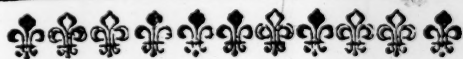
*Written in French by the
most Noble and Illustrious*
PRINCE,
The Duke of Rohan.

Englified by H. H.

LONDON,
Printed by Ric. Hodgkinsonne, and
are to be sold by Henry Herringman
at the New Exchange. 1663.



594:12



TO
THE MUCH
HONOURED
SIR
JOHN PACKINGTON,
IN THE
County of Worcester,
BARONET.

SIR,



HE works
of Great
and Wor-
thy Perso-
nages, ought chiefly

A 4 to

to be Dedicated to
those, who love and
honor their Vertues,
which is the motive
that I doe present
these discourses of
that great Captaine
and States-man the
Duke of *Roban*, unto
you.

And although you
understand them per-
fectly in their owne
origi-

originall , yet I hope
they will not be un-
welcome speaking
English , because it
may pleasure or pro-
fit some others, whose
benefit your Noble
Charitie cherisheth
as your owne. How-
soever if any advan-
tage redound from
these papers , to the
advancement of o-

A 5 thers

thers knowledge , I shall not repent the imployment of the spare time that I bestowed upon them in *France* , when I endeavored to teach them our tongue by learning theirs.

And though it should happen that I faile in the accomplishment of my desires

desires herein , yet
would it satisfie me
me abundantly that
You alone vouchsafe
to accept the same,
as an argument of
such service as I owe,
and would shew in a
worthier manner, and
as a present testimony
to the world that I
am

SIR, *Your humble and affectionate*

servant,

HEN. HUNT.



THE PREFACE,

THe PRINCES command the People, & the Interest commands the Princes. The knowledge of this Interest is as much more raised above

bove that of Princes
actions, as they them-
selves are above the
People. The Prince
may deceive himselfe,
his Counsell may be
corrupted, but the In-
terest alone can never
faile. According as it
is well or ill understood,
it maketh States to live
or die. And as it al-
waies aimeth at the
aug-

augmentation , or at
leastwise the conserva-
tion of a State , so like-
wise to get thither , it
ought to varie accor-
ding to the times. . So
that to consider well the
Interest of the Princes
of this time, we need not
remount very high , but
only take the standing of
the present affaires. For
this purpose one ought
to

to lay for a ground, that
there be ~~two~~ Powers in
Christendome, which
are as the ~~two~~ Poles,
from whence descend
the influences of peace
and warre upon the o-
ther States, to wit, the
Houses of France and
Spaine. This of Spain
finding it self augment-
ed all at once, hath not
been able to conceale the
de-

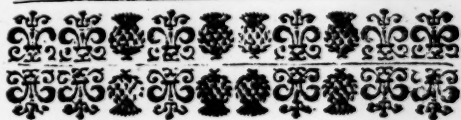
*designe she had to make
her selfe Mistresse, and
cause the Sun of a new
Monarchie to rise in
the West. That of
France is forthwith
carried to make a coun-
terpoise. The other
Princes are annexed to
the one, or the other,
according to their Inte-
rest. But forasmuch
as this Interest (as it
bath*

bath been well or ill followed) bath caused the
ruine of some, or the
greatnesse of others, I
have purposed to publish
in this present Treatise.
First, what was the true
Interest of these two
mightie Powers, and
then of the other which
seeme in some manner to
depend on their protection.
Next of all I shall
shew

*shew how much hath
been the digression from
this true Interest, ei-
ther because the Prince
hath not well understood
it, or else for that it was
disguised by the corrup-
tion of his Ministers.*

THE

restituit et p[ro]uoc



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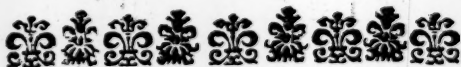


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OF



OF THE
INTEREST,
OF
SPAINE.

SPAINE is at the head of *Europe*, where the *Ocean* serves her for bounds, upon the entrance of the *Mediterranean sea*, which separates the same from *Affrick*, having the *Pyrenean* mountains for barriers against *France*. On this
B great

great Countrey so well situated, do depend many *States*, spread in divers parts of the world. *Philip* King of *Spaine*, who attempted to extend this vast power to the top of all greatnesse (finding himsele lesse fit for war then *civill busi-
nesses*) judged that *Monarchies* got as it were in post, by the valour of warlike *Princes*, are not of like continuance as those which they get by establishing a good *Counsell*, and which are founded upon good *maximes*.

Because that these great *Conquerors* (who think only of vanquishing; and extending their dominions, and not of founding Lawes for their sub-

subſiſtence) being not ordinarily ſucceeded by ſuch as equall their courage, and the vanquiſhed people having not yet loſt the memorie of their libertie , or of their ancient *Lords*, are eaſily carried to any change, ſeeing themſelves delivered from the fear of him that had ſubjected them. Which made this wiſe *Prince* reſolve to follow his own diſpoſition, and chooſe a courſe moſt agreeable to his impene- trable humor, that is, to proſe- cure his deſignes under a pro- found diſſimulation.

To this end, he fixed the ſeat of his dominion in *Spaine*, that he might from thence conveigh warmth to the mem-

bers loosened from this body, and might with more ease (conserving peace by his presence) trouble all the rest of *Europe* by his subtilties. But the time failing him to accomplish so loftie a designe, he left it nevertheless so farre advanced, that it hath been easie for his successors to prosecute the same. See now the *Maximes* observed hitherto as *Oracles*, which are properly the true *Interest* of *Spaine*.

The first is grounded upon *Religion*, as that which for conscience sake doth make people undertake any thing. There ought to be testified by the *Spaniard*, a great zeale to the *Catholik Religion*, that hee might

might serve himself of it in his
 designes. And hee ought to
 make the Pope conceive, that
 to favor the greatnesse of *Spain*
 in ruining the *Protestants*, is
 the support of his own autho-
 ritie, and puissance. It behoves
 him to perswade the other
Princes of Italie, that on the
 protection of *Spaine* depends
 the upholding of the *Church* a-
 gainst any other power. And
 that the entrance of *Strangers*
 into *Italie* be barred, to con-
 serve the Religion, which
 could not but be soyled by
 such a commerce.

In *France*, where there be
Protestants, and where the *Ca-*
tholikes are the *Masters*, Hee
 should incite the *King* to banish

nish those, and sollicite the *Pope* to urge the same, yet giving under-hand courage and assistance to the said *Protestants* to stir up there a *Civill Warre*; which might so much the more weaken the Kingdom. If the *King* perceiving the subtiltie of this counsell, will not give care to it, Hee ought then to stirre up the *Catholiks* themselves against him, as against a favourer of *Hereticks*: to assist them also powerfully, and therein likewise to engage the *Pope*, if he can. For in what manner soever, he should procure that this Realm be destroyed of it self, as that which every where sets it selfe against the designe of the *Spanish Monarchie*. In

In *England* where the *Protestants* are *Masters*, where they bear the sway, hee ought to make peace in any wise with this Realme, to the end that through the power it hath at Sea, it doe not incommode the *Indies*, where his chiefe treasures are. And that under this apparant amitie he may the more easily render himself *Protector* of the *Catholikes* of *England*. Wherefore he ought to advantage himself by the *Colledges* founded of purpose in *Flanders* and in *Spaine*, to instruct the *English youth* in the *Catholike Religion*, inciting them to come thither by the liberalitie there used, and to follow their studies there,

without paying any thing. Where the *Divinitie* they learne, is to acquire *Martyr-dome*, and merit heaven, in serving the greatnesse of *Spaine*, at the cost of their *King* and *Country*.

In *Germanie*, where (though the *Emperor* be a *Catholike*) the *Protestants* share so well the authoritie, that *he* needs to maintaine the *Empire* in the house of *Austria* (being the same with *Spaine*) as the sole bull-warke against the *Protestants*, and he should augment it from their spoils, under pretence of *Religion*, and a desire thereby to defend *Christendom* against the *Turke*.

In *Switzerland*, where the
power

power is shared between two *Religions*, he ought to animate one side against the other, giving hope to the *Catholikes* of the spoile of the *Protestants*, and holding them in breath, to make them break as occasion shall serve.

In the *Low-countries*, where the *Catholikes* have not any power, and where so long and bloodie warres have not been able to reduce this people under the yoake of *Spaine*, the endeavours should be, to make them lay downe their armes through a long truce, and in this repose, to foment a *Schisme* there, which may divide them betwixt themselves.

To manage well these affaires, one must come to the second point, that consists in the manner to maintaine such intelligences as shall be necessary in all other *States*, which he must doe by the means of *Embassadours*, as persons towards whom respect is borne. Likewise by *Monkes* and *Preachers* that have great power in their pulpits and also in particular families, by *Money*, whereby men acquire *Confidents*, such on whose trust one may relie, and herein he must not be sparing. Above all, he must assay to gaine the principall *Ministers* of *Princes*, to divert the dangerous designs which they might have against
Spaine;

Spaine; Or else to render them odious, who are found too faithfull, and ruine them in any wise howsoever.

The third point toucheth *negotiations & treaties*, wherein hee must employ persons *secret* and *patient*, He must allway shew a desire of peace, thereby to cast others asleep, and in the mean time prepare himself to warre, to surprise them unprovided.

If there happen any difference between two *pettie Princes*, hee ought to enterpose himself for their agreement, either as *Judge*, or *Arbitrator*, and to have *in deposito*, in trust (if he can) that which is in debate betwixt them, in-
cen-

censing them (if hee can) in
 stead of appeasing them, con-
 senting with the one to divide
 the spoils of the other, and up-
 on the division dispossesse
 both. He ought, not to loose
 any occasion of intermedling
 in the affaires of his neigh-
 bours, but yet exclude others
 from medling with his. Espe-
 cially the *French* from the
 affairs of *Italie*, hindring them
 from having any entrance
 there, because they are the on-
 ly men that may frustrate the
 designs of *Spaine* in that
 Country.

The fourth point consists in
 being *always powerfully armed*,
 which is an assured means to
 keepe his Subjects in obedi-
 ence,

ence, and his Neighbours in respect, to prevēt the designs of his enemies, to surprise them if they sleep, and to take his own advantage from unexpected occasions.

The firth point is *reputation*, and although it dependeth on the foure first, neverthelesse, being simply considered, it establissheth a fifth maxime, whereby *spaine* gaineth as much, as by any of the rest. Considering that the opinion conceived of her great zeal for the maintenance of the Catholike Religion, covers with the cloake of pietie, all her other designs, and holds the people in a wonderful awe. The feare of her
pro-

found intelligences through out, causeth other *Princes* to have a care that they engage not themselves lightly against her. This assurance confirmed in mens understandings, by so much experience of her prudent dexterity (knowing how to advantage her selfe in *Treaties*) invites her inferiours to enter more forwardly in league with her, and to set themselves under her shade. The estate of her *armes* always on foot, consumes those that are suspicious of her, and assures others that depend on her protection.

From all these things results the reputation of *Spaine*. Her *Interest* is, to manage well *this*
pietie.

pietie. And though all *Princes* hold for a generall maxime, that they should carefully conserve their reputation, *Spaine* ought to be so much the more jealous therof, as her designs are greater then those of other *States.*

This huge frame composed of so many parts, and as it were incumbred with its owne weight, moves by its secret springs, which loose their force even as they are discovered.

* *
*

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the different...

30



OF THE INTEREST OF FRANCE.



FRANCE being
seated between
the *Alpes* and
the *Pyrenean*
mountains, and
flanked by two *seas*, seems to
be invited by *nature* to oppose
it self against the proceeding
of this puissant Neighbour-
hood. For *shee* appeares like a
banke

banke against this *torrent*, and the opportunitie of her scituation is such, that she may hinder the distribution of the *head* to the *members* of the *Monarchie* which does oppugne her.

But this being not sufficient to crosse the proceedings of *Spaine*, the *interest* of *France* is, to take all the *counter-course* (to impeach all she may her *designes*) by *maximes*, which we come now to deliver unto you.

Henry the *fourth* (upon whom the activitie of all these subtilties has been excercised even to the uttermost point) having better understood them then any other before him (for that he proved them
more

more) hee first confirmed the true interest of *France*, which is to thwart or counterpoint *Spaine* in all these points.

In such wise, that if the first maxime of the interest of *Spaine* be, to prosecute the *Protestants*, for to grow by their spoils: the first of the interest of *France* is, to make the *Catholikes* perceive the venom hidden under the same. Especially to let the *Court of Rome* understand that the hopes which *Spaine* gives her to augment her treasures by the ruin of *Protestants*; is not but to further her designe towards the *Monarchie*, where she can no sooner arrive, but the
Pope

Pope must become her *Servant*, whereas his authoritie never hath more lustre, then when the power of *Christian Princes* and *States* is ballanced. Moreover *France* should make shew to the *Protestant Princes* and *States*, that although she be of a *diverse Religion* to theirs, yet shee would rather their *conversion*, then their *destruction*, assuring them that this shall not at all hinder her that shee contribute not of her owne to conserve them, and to aide them freely against all those that would trouble or change any thing in their **S T A T E S** and *liberties*.

Likewise as the second
maxime

maxime of the Interest of *Spaine* is to advantage her designe through intelligences. The second of the *interest* of *France* is, not to sleep at all in hers. Nor to spare money in *spies* and *pensioners*, to the end to know what passeth amongst her *neighbours*, and that as occasion serves, shee strengthen the weake, assure the fearfull, stop the engagement of those that are moved to decline, retire those that are already engaged, and that she crosse in all places, and by all means the *intelligences* of *Spain*.

To the third *maxime*, which concerns *negociation*. It ought not to be suffered that *Spaine* meddle in any *Treatie*, but that

that *France* also step between on her part. Especially in *Italie*, where she would be sole Judge and *Umpire*. That which shee will be, if *France* were not assured of one *port* to enter there, which she ought to keepe, even so long as she will oppose the others greatnesse, and be considered as the bullwarke of the Christian libertie. Moreover *flegmatick persons* ought to be made choice of (for to *treate with Spaine*) and such as have not any impatient humour, whereof the *French* nation is accused, to the end, to take away their hope of profiting by *delaies*, wherewith *Spaine* hath been accustomed

ed to wearie all the world.

To the fourth Maxime. There ought to be opposed force to force. For neither perswasions, nor the *Justice* of armes will awe him that's armed. So as that France ought to cut off all unnecessary expences, and be alwayes powerfully armed, having sufficiently to doe the same, without borrowing elsewhere *souldiers, munition, and money.*

If so be that the above named *maximes* be well observed, the reputation of *Spaine*, (whereby shee doth so advantageously prevaile) will be abated: that of *France* elevated: and the other *Christian Princes*

Princes and States seeing such
a *counterpoise* to affaires, will
againe take courage, and with-
out apprehension of future
danger, voluntarily em-
brace the cause of their
conservation.

* * *



O F



OF THE
INTEREST
OF
THE PRINCES
OF
ITALIE.



ITALIE, which
is environed with
the *Alpes*, and the
Mediterranean sea,
(after the deluge
of those *barbarous nations* that
so long time afflicted it) seem-
ed

ed as if she ought to think of nothing more then to benefit her selfe by the oportunitie of her situation , to keep her self *close* and *secret* , being as well separated by the *interest* of *Provinces* , as divided by her scituation. And truly it was then the *maxime* which shee ought to hold. For these *little Princes* might live peaceably under the shadow of the *greater* , when having amongst themselves their just counterpoise, they cannot attempt any thing upon their inferiors.

And the *principall Powers* sharing amongst themselves the dominion of such a Countrey, had reason to exclude their Neighbours from the
Know-

Knowledge of their affaires.

But since that the *King* of *Spaine* hath set footing in *Italie*, and that finding himself *Master* of *both ends* thereof, he hath made the ballance incline on his own side, the true interest in generall of the *Italian Princes* hath been to keep ever one gate (at least) open , to guard themselves from the oppression which such a formidable *Power* might make them fear.

And although that for this effect they ought to hold intelligences with other *Princes* , it behooves them notwithstanding, to doe it chiefly with the *King of France* , for three reasons. *First*, for the neereneffe,

and opportunitie of being able to succour them, either by *sea* or *land*. *Secondly*, for the great forces that this great *Realm* can set on foote. And *lastly*, by this bridle to restraine the *Spainard*, who otherwise would carry himselfe towards them with lesse moderation.

The other *maxime* which *Italie* ought to observe is, to conserve her selfe in *peace*. *First*, because there can be no warre, but the kings of *France* and *Spaine* will *there* take part, either as favouring one of the parties, or else as *Arbitrators*. Besides it ought to be considered, that warre cannot be enkindled in this Countrey, without

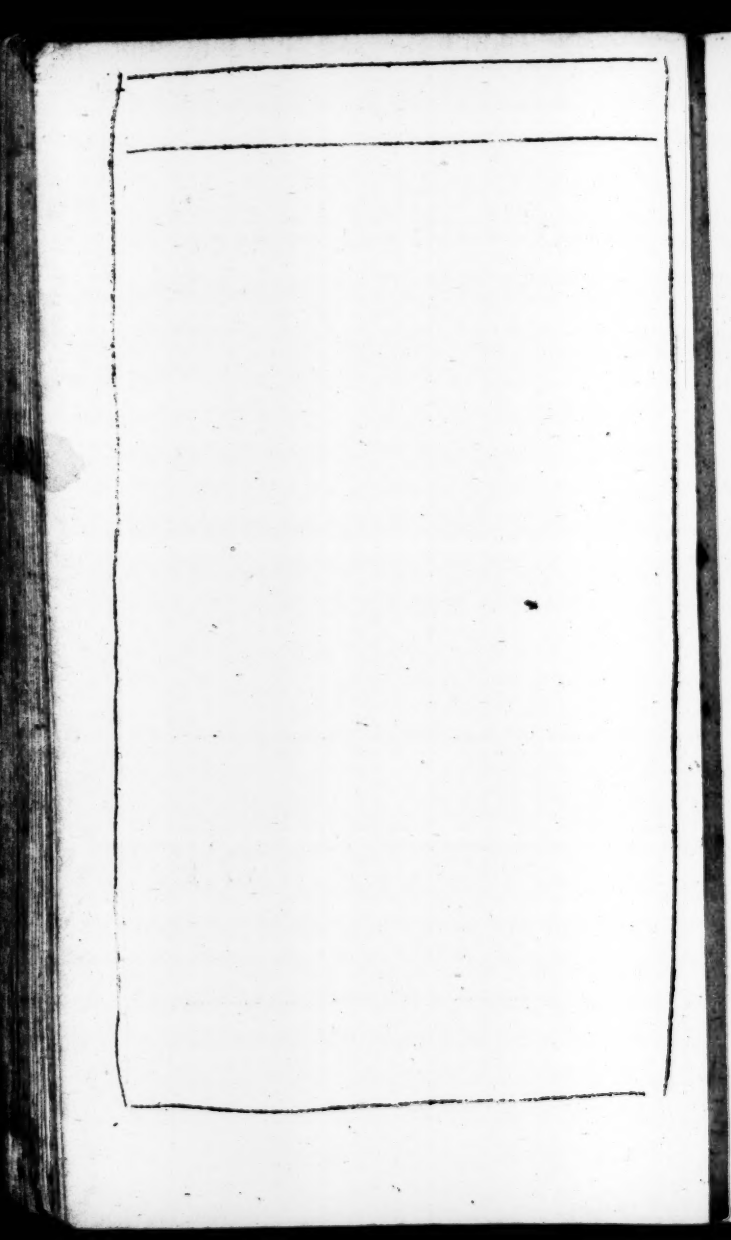
out great danger of stirring up
divers humours, which doe
now lie still.

These are the two points
wherein lieth the *interest* of
Italie in generall. And al-
though that every *Prince*
ought to have the same *aime*,
there are notwithstanding
certaine *particular interests*
in each State. The *Common-*
wealth of *Venice* in regard of
the extent of her dominion
both by *sea* and *land*, likewise
of the firmnes of her establish-
ment for twelve *ages* entire,
and of the prudent conduct of
so wise a government, is with-
out doubt the chief Power of
Italie next that of the *King* of
Spaine, And she also hath been

the *first Common-wealth* that hath settled the rules of her conservation, and that hath most punctually observed them, in taking for her particular interest, that of *Italie* in generall. Moreover for particular respects *she* makes it a *maxime*, to hold a strait intelligence with the *Turke*, and for the same she spares not any cost. Shee beleeves also that her Interest is, to maintaine warre abroad, and *foment* the same with money. That which the other *Princes* of *Italie* ought also to doe, if they had strength and courage to undertake it.

She looseth no time for to hinder the *King* of *Spaine* and
the

the *Pope* from waxing great. The *State of Venice* seems extraordinarily jealous of these two *Potentates*, though it be a *maxime* common to all *Princes* to hinder the growth of their Neighbors. As for the other *Princes of Italie*, she upholds them according to her own benefit.





OF THE
INTEREST
OF THE SEA
OF
ROME.

THE *interest* of
the *Sea of Rome*
is, first to pro-
cure by all man-
ner of means
the diminution of the *greatnes*
of *Spaine*, because the *Church-*
lands lie so fit for her, that if
once the King of *Spaine* come

C 5 to

to quit the specious pretext that he hath taken to protect the *holy* Sea, certainly he will easily appropriate all this goodly demaine, for to joyne together the two *ends*, which already belong unto him.

The puissance of the *Venetians*, and of the great Duke doth much enfeeble that of the *Sea of Rome*, which without these obstacles would command the two *Gulfs*. So she ought to desire that these two *Princes* remaine at least as they be.

But all these are but generall *maximes*. There be yet three particulars of the *Sea of Rome*. The *first* is, to maintaine her credit throughout, by the means of *Ecclesiasticall persons*,

sons, as the *sinnews* of her greatness, whom she ought to *protect* against the *secular Powers*.

The *second* is, to make *Princes* dread the thunderbolt of *Excommunications*, But not to use it too oft, for feare they come to contemn it.

The *third* is, to restraine the Popes, as much as may be, hindering them from making great their *houses* at the *Churches* cost, or committing any extravagance by their *passions*, prejudiciall to the common good of the *Ecclesiastiall State*.

It would be to no purpose to touch the Interest of the other *Princes* of *Italie*, for that they are either so little

con-

considerable as they can doe nothing of themselves : or else so *subjected*, as they dare not make shew of any other Interest, then that of *those* on whom they depend.



O F



OF THE
INTEREST
OF THE DUKE
OF
SAVOY.



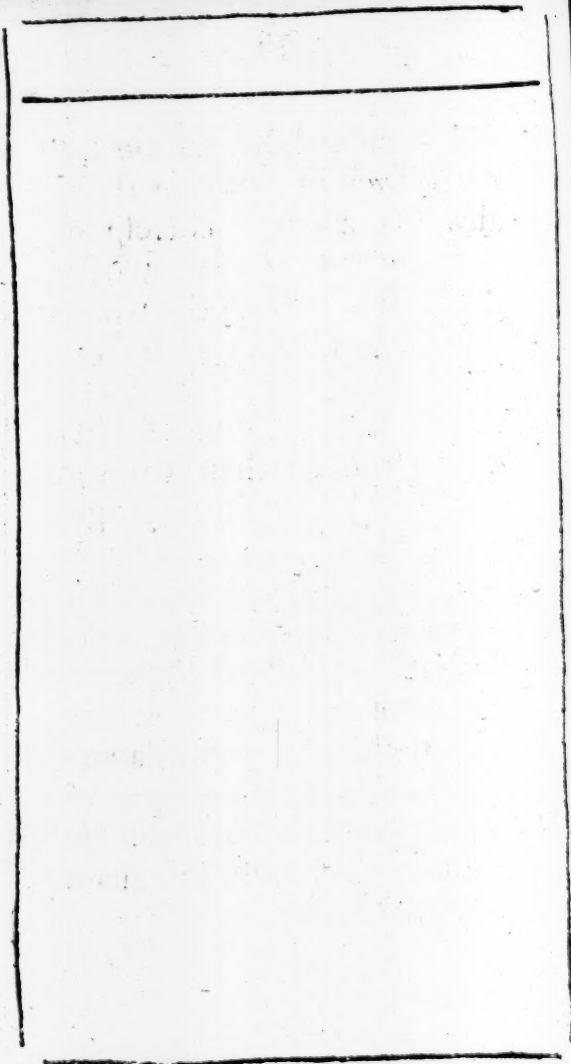
T remains only for conclusion, to speak of the *Duke of Savoy*. The *Estate* of this *Prince* is in such manner situated, that to which side soever he turns, he is of great importance to the partie he
em-

embraceth. CHARLES E-MANUEL (who was first willing to make knowne that a *Duke of Savoy* could make *peace* and *war* in *Italie*) beleeved, that the Interest of his *Estate* was, to side one while with *France*, another while with *Spaine*, according to the occurrences and good of his affaires, which was the sole *but* of his designs, without thinking of *Treaties* made either with the one or the other. But this *Prince*, ful of vast thoughts (and who could not bound his *ambition* by the barriers that Nature had set to his *Estate*) was glad that the scituation of his *Countray* might serve for a pretext to his *disquiet*.

For

For indeed the true *interest* of the *Duke of Savoy* is, to have allwayes a good correspondence with *France*, because she can assist him with the whole masse of her forces, against *one member* of the power of *Spain*, who hath more jealousie of her *Estates* in *Italie*, then (to say in a manner) of all the rest together, having also a vehement desire to joyne *Piemont* to the *Dutchie* of *Milaine*. So as the *Duke of Savoy* should beleeve, that what amity soever he hath with *Spaine*, it is most dangerous to him. He ought nevertheless to entertaine it, in so much as it is needfull to guard him from *France*.

O F





OF THE
INTEREST,
OF
GERMANIE.



HIS huge masse
of *Provinces* joyn-
ing together, in-
vironed with *three*
Seas, and divided
by so many mighty rivers, hath
been heretofore the terror of
the *Romane Empire*, which at
length she hath transported to
her self. And as *before*, she had
no

no other interest but her *libertie*: so *since*, she hath no other designe but to conserve the same. For truly if the name of *Empire* hath brought splendor and reputation to *Germanie*, it hath given her in recompence much jealousy and distrust. She presently discovered her *Emperours*, and assayed to limit their power for feare that from Chiefs of this Countrey, they come to be Masters thereof. Dominion being such a dainty morcell, that the most temperate cannot forbear it. This notwithstanding, by the continuance of certaine successions, the *Empire* being established in the house of *Austria* (that of *Spaine*, which is the

the principall branch thereof) knew to manage this beginning of establishment with such dexteritie, that now it seems as hereditary in that house. The maxime of *Germanie* was to hinder the progresse of this usurpation. And now her interest is, to reduce things to their former estate, by distributing this honor interchangeably to the principal houses, and restraining the power of the Emperors, whose counsell ought to be the *general Diets*, to consult altogether of the means to conserve the common libertie, and to resist the *Turke*, who is the only force that *Germanie* should be afraid of.

The

The diversitie of *Religion* ought not to cause any diversitie of opinion in things that concerne the common good. The *interest* of all the *Princes* in generall, and of every one of them in particular is, mutually to defend, and jointly to hinder that the *Emperor* make not an attempt upon the libertie of any, under what pretext soever it be. They should likewise take heed that the *stronger* amongst them oppresse not the weaker, whereto the *Emperor* will alwayes lend a hand, for to gain, by the ruine, both of the one and the other.

The *Catholik Princes* ought from henceforth to be well advised, and to hold for certain,

tain, that under the colour of Religion, they serve the designe of the house of *Austria*, and forge by little and little the irons of their own bondage, being not able to hope for any other advantage then to be the *last* ruined.

The *Protestants* (since they alone cannot withstand so great forces) should make it *a maxime*, to be first well united at home, and afterwards to hold necessary intelligences abroad, for to counterpoise the *Catholik* league. Their chieftest aime should be, to abide streightly conjoyned together, and to beleeeve, that their assured ruine lieth in their *disunion*.

All

All the advantages proposed unto them for to *disunite* them one from another, ought to be the bands of their concord and good intelligence.

This is the true *interest* of the *Princes* of *Germanie* and of the *Imperiall towns*, which they never ought to relinquish, For without this support, they will become the prey of the first *Usurper*, and their great *magazines*, and stately *Arcenalls* will serve for a lure to intice those that are *Masters* of the field.

There are *four* Kingdomes which depend in a manner upon *Germanie* and are obliged to follow the fortune of this Countrey.

Poland and *Hungarie* for divers interests remaine tyed to the house of *Austria*.

Denmarke and *Swedeland* embrace the partie that main-
taines the libertie of *Germanie*,
fearing their owne may be in
danger, after this comes to be
oppressed.

It is requisite that *Germanie*
remaine strictly united with
both these Realmes, But the
latter shee can never forsake,
without an eternall blot of in-
gratitude, having received
from thence even that which
was beyond her hopes, see-
ing her selfe already swal-
lowed in the very gulfe
of so hard a bondage, when
this K I N G (shewed on-
ly


ly to the world through so
many darke clowdes) made
the Sunne of her delive-
rance appeare to this de-
solate Countrey.

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O F

OF THE
 INTEREST
 OF
 THE SWISSES,
 AND
 of the *United Provinces*
 of the *Low-Countries*.

 N the two sides of
Germany, at the
 entery of this
 large Countrey,
 there are formed
 two Common-wealths, dread-
 full amongst the other powers
 D of

of *Christendome*, both for the valour of their people, and for the form of their scituation. So that very rightly one may call them the two armes of *Germany*.

The right arme is *Switzerland*, the left is the *United State* of the *Low Countries*. The one is amongst the rocks and precipices; the other amongst the Seas and marshes. The one domineers in the *Alpes*: and the other in the *ocean*. The naturall disposition of both these people is so agreeable to the nature of the Countries which they inhabit, as that the *Swisses* seeme made for the Mountains, and the Mountaines for the *Swisses*. The Sea
for

for the *Hollanders*: and the *Hollanders* for the Sea. In *Switzerland* every Canton, in the *Low-Countries* every Province is a Common-welth. The *Swisses* sell the libertie of their bodies to others, and doe guard the liberty of their country: the *Hollanders* guard their owne libertie intire. Long *Peace* hath enriched those: but these flourish by the continuation of *Warre*. The interest of the *Swisses* is *Peace*: but the *Hollanders* should hold for an assured maxime, to be alwayes in *Armes*.

These two *Republikes* cannot make better alliance for their subsistence then with *France*, who (to oppose
D 2 *Spaine*)

Spaine) doth enrich the *Swiffes* with her mony , and supports the *Hollanders* with her Counsell and Armes.

These two Powers should never be divided betwixt themselves , either through *jealousie* or *Religion*, since these are the sole maladies that may extinguish them.

* *

O F



OF THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND.

E N G L A N D
which is as a little
world apart, had
not any thing to
doe with other
Princes, but only so far as the
necessity of commerce did
oblige her, which was then her
true interest. For thereby
she gained great riches, which
D 3 to-

together with her scituation, have made her of very great account. But since that under the shadow of that misterious marriage between PHILIP and MARY, the *practises* of *Spaine* are insensibly slipped in, *England* (which before had *maximes* conformable to her own selfe) is by little and little accommodated sometimes to the interest of *France*, and sometimes to the interest of *Spaine*.

Queene ELIZABETH (who by her prudent government hath equall'd the greatest *Kings* of *Christendome*) she knowing well the disposition of her *State*, beleev'd that the true interest thereof consisted,
First

First in holding a firme union in it selfe, atchieving to smother the reliques of precedent factions, deeming (as it is most true) that *England is a mighty Animal*, which can never dye except it kill it selfe.

Shee grounded this fundamentall maxime, to banish thence the exercise of the *Romane Religion*, as the onely means to breake all the plots of the *Spaniards*, who under this pretext, did there foment Rebellion. And although shee professed her self very much obliged to *Philip*, towards whom shee bare ever a speciall regard, neverthelesse she had so carefull a consideration of the interest of her

D 4 *State,*

State, that she beleevd it was never fit to conclude a peace with him, for three very evident reasons. The *first* was, for to weaken the power that she suspected in the *Indies*: The *second*, for to enrich her Realme by depredations: The *third*, thereby to make her Subjects warlike, and keep them in perpetuall exercise for *sea-fight*, which is the *defence* of the kingdome.

She beleevd that the interest of her *Estate* was, to aide *France*, and releve it, least that by the fall thereof she suffer those to waxe great, from whom she had cause to defend, her self.

By the same *maxime*, *Shee*
sup-

supported the springing libertie of the *United Provinces*, whose protection against the puissance of *Spaine*, is one of the principall points of *Englands interest*, as well because shee thereby weakens a too powerfull Neighbor: as for that *Protection* serves sometimes for a step to reach some higher matter.

Shee held most strait intelligences with the *Protestants* of *France*, for reasons altogether peculiar to *England*.

Shee did the same (though for other respects) with the *Protestants* of *Germanie*.

By all these maximes *this wise Princessse* hath very well made knowne to her *Succes-*

sors, that besides the *Interest* which the *King of England* hath common with all *Princes*, hee hath yet *one particular*, which is, that *He ought thoroughly to acquire the advancement of the Protestant Religion*, even with as much *zeale as the King of Spaine appears Prtector of the Catholick*.

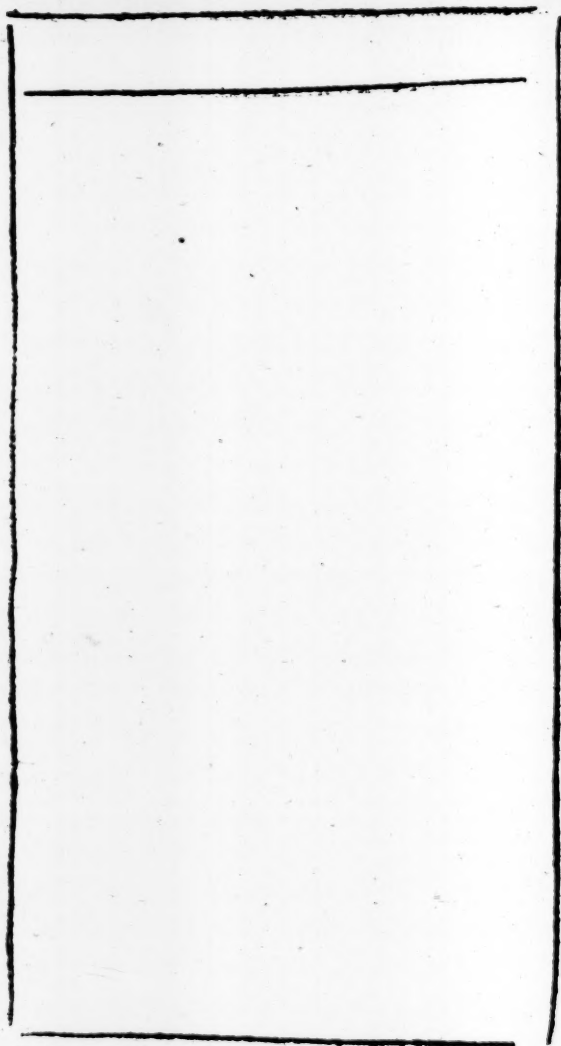
For this effect, *England* should have intelligences throughout, wheresoever it is fitting, and take part in all the *Treaties* that are made with *Protestant PRINCES*. Shee should likewise bee *alwayes armed* to become thereby *considerable*.

Here

Here is the true Interest
of *England*, which being well
followed, will establish
a third *Power* in
Christendome.



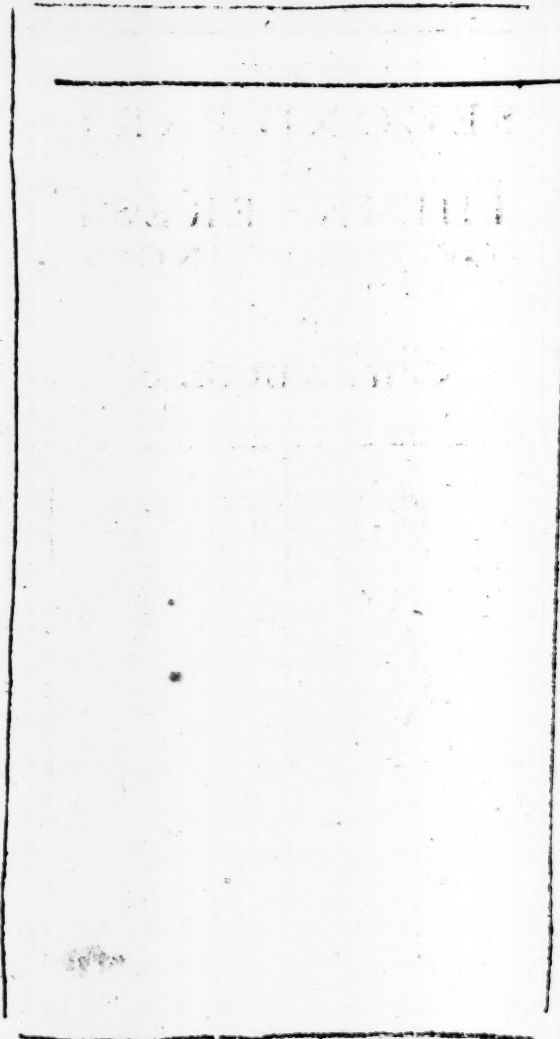
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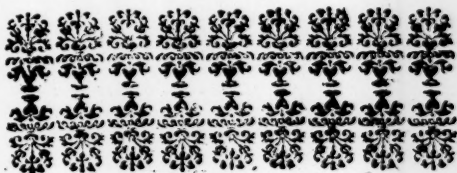


THE
SECOND PART
OF
THE INTEREST
OF THE PRINCES
AND STATES
OF
Christendome.




LONDON:
Printed by Ric. Hodgkinsonne. ~~1717~~.





THE PREFACE.

 *After the stablish-
ing of the true
Interest of each
PRINCE and
State, it ought to be made
appeare by the recitall of the
principall offaires agitated
in Christendome for the
space of fiftie yeeres past,
how*

how the ill successes that
have happened therein, pro-
ceeded not from any other
cause, than the neglecting of
the said interest. For to
teach us that in matter of
State, one ought not to suf-
fer himself to be led by in-
ordinate desires, which
carry us oftentimes to un-
dertake things beyond our
strength : nor by violent
passions which doe diversly
trouble us, according as we
are possessed therewith : nor
by superstitious opinions,
where-

whereby ill-conceived scruples are ministred unto us, but rather by our proper interest guided by reason alone, which ought to be the rule of our actions, to the end that by such examples, we seeing (as in a mirror) the faults of others, may thereby benefit our selves.

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THE FIRST
DISCOURSE
UPON
THE AFFAIRE
OF
the League.



Under the Raigns
of FRANCIS
the second, and
CHARLES the
Ninth, *France*
was exceedingly molested
with civill warres, the *youth* of
these two *Princes* was the
prin-

principall cause thereof. Each
 would have the managing of
 affaires. A contestation was
 betwixt Queene CATHE-
 RINE their mother, and the
Princes of the blood, and un-
 der them, the houses which
 had most power, were those of
Guise and *Montmorancy*, which
 had quietly ruled *Henry* the se-
 cond their Father. FRANCIS
 of *Lorraine* Duke of
Guise bore the partie of CA-
 THERINE. ANNAS
 Duke of *Mountmorancy* tooke
 part with the *Princes* of the
 blood. Likewise there was a-
 mongst them difference of
 Religion. The warres about
 Religion were great and
 bloody, and lasted even to
 the

the death of **C H A R L E S** the Ninth, and his brother **H E N R Y** the Third succeeded him. He was of age capable to govern, he had goodly qualities, and gave hopes of a happy Reigne.

At his comming to the Crowne **H E N R Y** testified a desire to lead a peaceable life, but it was rather to plunge himself in idlenesse and pleasures, then to Reigne well.

H E N R Y Duke of *Guise* (sonne of **F R A N C E S**) a Prince endowed with great qualities, and full of loftie thoughts, seeing the *King* and his *Brother* without children, and the first Princes of the blood, to make profession of
the

the *Protestant* Religion, is bold to aspire unto the *Royaltie*, and to get thither, makes himself Protector of the *Catholikes*, and the Persecutor of the *Protestants*, against whom hee stirred up divers warres.

HENRY of *Burbon*, King of *Navarre*, first Prince of the blood, Chief of the *Protestant* partie, and a Prince adorned with an Heroique vertue, successfully waged divers warres in favour of the *Protestants*.

Here be ~~three~~ HENRIES, Chiefs of three severall parties in *France*, who have every one their interest. The *King* to maintain his lawfull authority. The *Duke* of *Guise* to possesse the Kings place, and the King
of

of *Navarre* to hinder the King of *France* his ruine, which was indeed his owne, and of his partie which made him subsist in reputation. The first of these through weaknesse lets himself be induced to make war upon the *King of Navarre*. The second makes himself Head of the *Catholick* partie. The third becomes Protector of the *Protestants*. So that as *hee* who ought to have commanded others, is very happy to have place only in the partie of the Duke of *Guise*, who therein came so far with him, that when he was killed in the yeere 1588. he was upon the point to make him be declared to the States of the Realme,

Realme, incapable to reigne,
and the Princes of the blood
to succeed him.

PHILIP King of *Spaine*,
who had alwayes an eye open
to his great designe, foment
this businesse, favors the Duke
of *Guise* at *Rome*, helps him
with money in *France*, lets
him not want for any thing,
and even after his death, con-
tinues his assistance to his Bro-
ther CHARLES Duke of
Mayne.

The King seeing himselfe a-
bandoned of all the great
Townes of his Realme, and of
the most part of his Nobilitie,
casts himself into the armes of
the King of *Navarre*, who by
his assistance retireth him al-
most

most from the hands of his enemies, which held him besieged within *Tours*, he brings him as triumphant, before his Capitall Citie of *Paris*, where by the stab of a knife he dyed, and left the Kingdome to the K. of *Navar*, in the yeer 1589.

This *Prince* seeing himself elevated to so high a dignitie, was invited by the change of his condition to make change of his interest, & quitting that which hee had held even till then, hee embraced that of *France*. He had great oppositions caused by *Philip*, as well by his practises at *Rome*, as by his assistance to the *League* of *France*, alwayes under pretext of his great zeale for the Ca-

E

tholick

tholike Religion, During the time that H E N R Y is a Protestant, *Philip* maintains that he cannot reigne, causeth him to be excommunicated, his Subjects to be dispensed from the oath of allegiance, setteth his kingdom in prey, that by this means hee might get it as easily as *Ferdinand* got the Kingdome of *Navarre* from his Predecessor. When he gives hope to turn Catholick, *Philip* declareth that he is an Hypocrite, and that having been relapsed, hee can never lawfully reigne, he aideth his enemies with money and armes sufficient to weaken both parties, but not to ruine the one in such sort, that the other might subsist

sist without him, willing to wearie them whom hee maintained, to the end that they should be constrained to give themselves up to him.

HENRY on his part shews unto Queene ELIZABETH, and the *United Provinces*, with the Protestants of *Germanie* and the *Swisses*, what Interest they had all in the cause. He received great assistance from them all, and even secretly from FERDINAND, great Duke of *Tuscany*, a Prince of great understanding, and who judged that the acquisition of *France* to the King of *Spaine*, was to subject all the other Princes. But the Republike of *Venise*

E 2 onely

onely amongst all the *Catholic States*, did without delay acknowledge him King of *France*, after the death of his Predecessor. So well as with all these aides, and his own valour, he resisted in the very beginning, and afterwards having obtained divers victories, and his affaires beginning to prosper, he was considered as a great Prince.

From thence forward, the *People* wearie of their miseries, began well to advise themselves, and to give no more such credence as they had done, to their *Preachers*: the *Nobilitie* to think upon the fide that prospered: the *Governors* of Towns to assure their
affaires

affaires with the *strongest* : and the Principalls of the *partie* to conserve what dignitie soever they had been raised unto. All these commotions caused *Leaguers* to assemble the States.

PHILIP takes occasion from such an extremity, for to perswade them, that the only remedy to reestablish their affaires was, to choose a King, and offers his daughter to him whom they chose. *This* was the apple of discord. The Duke of *Mayne*, principal Commander, could not pretend to have her, he being already married; nor would suffer that another should, lest himself from being *Master*, should become a *Servant*. His Nephew the

Duke of *Guise* was inticed with this daintie bit. The Duke of *Nemours* his unkle had as good an appetite as he. The Duke of *Mercueur* pretended the Dutchie of *Britanie* to belong to him by his Wife. The eldest sonne of the Duke of *Lorraine*, as head of the familie, was also mentioned. So that *PHILIP* thought by this discord to draw them to make choice of *him*. While these things were a doing, *HENRY* turnes *Catholick*. This change made some of the principall Townes and Governors to declare themselves on his party, and the other began to treat in the Court of *Rome*. *Philip* neglects nothing
(no

(no more then the chiefeſt *leaguers*) for to impeach that *Henry* be not acknowledged a good *Catholick*, and a long time hindered his Ambaſſadour from having Audience.

At the length *Clem. 8.* (then *Pope*) ſeeing well that he was eſtabliſhing himſelf without him, reſolved to grant that which he could not hinder, and to acknowledge him for *King*, it being a *maxime* of *Rome*, to *governe according to events*, to the end that ſhe looſe not that reverence and reſpect, which Shee endeavors throughly to preſerve, and without which her authoritie would be but a ſmall matter.

PHILIP fallen from ſuch

an hope , continues his assistance nevertheless to the residue of the *Leaguers*. Besides hee inciteth E M A N U E L Duke of *Savoy* (at that time his sonne-in-law) to set upon *Provence* , thereby to divert him from the pursuite of his claime to the *Dutchie* of *Millaine* , in right of his wifes dowrie. *Henry* seeing this obstinacie, declares himself openly , and denounceth warre against P H I L I P. The successe thereof was various, and yet after the recoverie of *Amiens* by H E N R Y , P H I L I P seeing himselfe very neere his grave , his *Sonne* yong , and *Henry* in the vigour of his age, he resolved on a peace , which
was

was concluded at *Vervins*, the yeere 1597. wherein he restoreth all that he held of *France*, and then died.

It behoveth now to consider the *interest* of the *Princes* inveloped in this *affaire*, what faults they therein committed, and what were the events thereof.

HENRY the Third, whose interest consisted, in not suffering divers factions in his Kingdome, in preserving the Princes of the blood since he had no children of his owne, and in keeping under those which lifted up themselves to the prejudice of his *Royall authoritie*, yet he did quite contrarie. For he fomented the

saide factions in steed of extinguishing them, and even joyned with the one to destroy the other. He made continuall warre upon the Princes of the blood, at the perswasion of those who desired to see their ruine for to raise themselves in their places, and he authorized in the command of his armies, those that aspired to the usurpation of his Kingdome. He did yet worse, for when he began to perceive their plot, he would prevent it by a remedie, which wrought his owne destruction, to wit, by casting himself into an affected and unusuall devotion, not stirring from the Cloisters of *Monkes*, thinking by this meanes

meanes to take from the Duke of *Guise* the credit that he had gotten amongst the *Catholikes*, who held him for their Chief. But there arrived the contrarie, for he became contemptible to his people, who chased him from his capitall citie of *Paris*, and all the great townes of his Kingdome revolted from him, they also reduced him to such a pittiful case, that in the end, a *Monke* had the boldnesse to kill him, which was the fruit of his negligence and ill conduct.

HENRY Duke of *Guise* succeeding a *Father* and an *Unkle*, both great personages, and who had had in the precedent Reignes great part in the
com-

command of Armies, in the conduct of affaires, and he thinking himself no whit inferior to them neither in courage nor in vertue, conceives the most haughtie designe that a man (borne the *Subject* of a *Prince*) could undertake, that is, to usurpe the place of his *Soveraigne*. The occasion seems most favourable to him. He hath already this advantage of gaining by the labour of his *Father*, it being a thing most difficult, that the life of one man alone should be able to worke such a change. Hee incountereth a *King* without children, and of the humour of those, under whom such projects might be attempted.

He

He findeth a *Kingdome* rent by factions, and assaulted with *the most dangerous of all Civill warres, which was for the difference of Religion*. He sees the first Princes of the blood in the weakest faction, the *King of Spaine* readie to assist all those that trouble *France*, and the *Popes* interested every way to persecute the *Protestants*. The matter standing thus, he (full of hopes) neglecteth nothing to accomplish his designe. He was a *goodly man, gracefull, courteous, liberall, and valiant*. He imployes all these gifts of nature to insinuate himselfe amongst the *Nobilitie, Gentry and Commonaltie*. He shewes himself very zealous of the Catho-

Catholick Religion, not by haunting the *Cloisters*, and walking through the streets in Procession: but by persecuting the Protestants, and declaring himself their mortall Enemie. Hee maintains his intelligences at *Rome*, and in *Spaine* alwayes under the pretence of Religion. He works the *Preachers* to set him in veneration amongst the *People*, and to make the King be declared a favorer of hereticks, hypocriticall, vicious, and idle. So as by such means he had elevated his designe even to the last step, when upon the very point of execution, hee was grossely wanting, both to his interest, and to his owne self,

self, which was in this, that after having chased his *King* from his chiefe Citie, levied armes against him, made publike declarations thereof, and then made peace with him, as with his equall, yet even then he intrusted his life to him, when hee would have made him be deposed : his businesse being not of that sort, as it might be permitted to faile twice.

H E N R Y the Fcurth had two parts to act. For whilest he was only *King* of *Navarre*, first Prince of the blood, and Protector of the Protestants of *France*, his interest was, to imploy all his industrie and credit, both within and with-
out

out the Kingdome, to defend the said Protestants, to the end that they might defend him. For which purpose, hee did what he could to hinder the *Duke of Guise* from seising the Crowne, whereunto he had interest as *presumptive* heire thereof, and to make himself known to H E N R Y the third, not onely in qualitie of Chief of the Protestants, but also as first Prince of the blood, to whom the interest of preserving the Kings Person and estate, was as deere to him as himself, to the end that at his need he should make no scruple to have recourse unto him. Which succeeded so well with him, that after the
Duke

Duke of Guise his death, and the revolt of his Kingdome, he had not a more assured refuge then to put himself into his hands.

When hee was King of *France*, there behoooved a great dexteritie to demeane himselfe discretly both towards the *Catholicks*, and the *Protestants*, incensed one against the other by so long and bloody Civill warres. *These* gloried in having a King of their Religion : but *those* could not endure the same, and threatned to abandon him, if he did not turne to theirs. His businesse now was, to preserve his *old* friends, and not to loose the new. He promiseth the one not to refuse
in-

instruction : and continues with the other, in the exercise of his *Religion*. - In the meane while, hee serves his owne turne of both together, to fight against his enemies. In the tediousnesse of these warres, every man was wearied, Many of the *Leaguers* like not a *Spanish* King, but yet they would not have a *Protestant* King. The *Catholicks* that served H E N R Y, growing impatient to see him continue in *this* Religion, presse him to embrace theirs, and come so far as to make a third part against him.

These considerations made him resolve at length to turn his *Religion*. And by this meanes

meanes he kept the *Catholicks* that followed him, thereby also he gained new ones from the partie of the *Leaguers*, and he lost not the *Protestants*, who hee well knew could never be taken in the number of his enemies, without destroying the pretext of *Religion*, which alone maintained them. So as that this Prince complying with the time, knew how to take his advantages so fitly, that he had good successe in his affaires.

PHILIP, who had a designe to the *Christian Monarchie*, and imagining that the maine obstacle which he should therein meet with, was the puissance of *France*, he embraces

braces the occasion offered unto him for to ruine the same. He aptly serves his purpose by the ill government of the *King*, and by the ambition of the *Duke of Guise*. He inciteth the *first* to expell the *Protestants* out of his kingdome by which way soever, giveth him his own example, offereth him his assistance, publisheth his great zeale at *Rome*, exhorts the *Pope* to joyne with him in such a pursuite: On the other side, he underhand exciteth the *second* to continue courageously his designe, assists him with money and Counsell. And by such devices he makes himselfe esteemed in *France*, as the chiefeest prop of their
their

their Religion. He makes a division betwixt the King and the *Protestants* of *Europe*, he authoriseth the Duke of *Guise* amongst the *Catholicks* of *France*, he incenseth the people against the *Princes* of the blood, and removeth (so much as he can) the children of the *Family* from the government of the *Realme*, for to introduce *Strangers* there. No other consideration diverteth him from his profound designe, hee holds *that* alwayes covered under the vaile of *Pietie*, and of his great zeale to the *Catholike Religion*. Hee travells there, step by step, without being impatient through the length of the way,

way, or precipitated through any accident. After the Duke of *Guise* his death, in stead of leaving off the worke, he became more resolute. He assisted his Brother, and the whole partie so much the more vigorously, as hee beleevved there was more need; and even thought assuredly, that it would be more easie for him now to make an advantageous gaine thereby, then in the life time of the said Duke. Because that the whole faction having more need of him, he could more easily reduce them to his own will. Insomuch as he advanced the businesse so forward, that the *Kingdome of France* escaped not his hands, but

but by miracle. And if he had been content only to dissipate it, in stead of getting it intirely, hee had therein obtained his ends. And this is the only fault that he committed against his interest in this Affaire. For had hee considered the affection this *Nation* bears towards her *Kings*, the detestation she hath of the *Spanish* dominion, besides her naturall ficklenesse, as also the reputation of the *clemencie* of HENRY the Fourth, hee would not have been so obstinate as to go about to surmount things impossible, and would have contented himself to part the Realme among severall persons. And afterwards

wards upon the differences that are wont to happen between *usurpers*, it would have been farre more easie for him to get by peece-meale, what he would have carried all at once. Howsoever it would have been a gaine great enough to him, to *divide* this mightie *Kingdome*, the which being *United*, doth every where impeach the amplification of *Spaine*.

THE



THE SECOND
DISCOURSE
UPON
THE WARRE
OF
SAVOY.

IT seemed that
the Peace of
Vervins had re-
stablished a so-
lid tranquillitie
to *Christendom*,
and that these two mighty Po-
wers

wers of *France* and *Spaine* wearied of troubling each other, had been glad to taste of rest. But as it is ordinary, that in all accords which are made between *Princes*, and *Soveraigne States*, there men leave undecided the *claimes* about which they cannot agree: So likewise in this Peace, the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces* was remitted to another season, in such wise as *Henry*, after having imployed some yeers to settle againe the affaires of his Realme in good order, hee resolved to question the Duke of *Savoy*, for the invasion of the said Marquisate, insomuch as hee made him plainly understand
that

that he would have it restored. This peece (although little) is of very great importance. It is the Port of *Italie* whereby the *French* might passe, either to assault, or succour it. Those that feared their power, had reason to withstand the designe of H E N R Y, but those that feared any other, favoured him. So the interests of *Italie* were divided. *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* (as the most interested of all in the businesse) uses all means to divert this Tempest. He solliciteth the King of *Spaine* not to forsake him, and gaineth the Popes Nephew, Cardinall *Aldobrandin*, to procure the Popes favour. But being exceedingly confi-

dent of his dexterity & adrefse, he resolved to goe into *France*, to the end that under the pretence of treating this affaire, he might gaine some of the principall Ministers of *Henry*, and raife a broile within the **K**ingdome, herein he was at great cost, and used such sleights, that he failed but very little of his purpose. Neverthelessse being too confident of a thing uncertaine, and having too much neglected the means of his true assurance, he became so surprised, that within three Moneths he was dispoiled of all *Bresse* and *Savoy*. This rude beginning awaked him. He continues his practises in *France*, he hasteth the succour
of

of *Spaine*, and seeks the intercession of the *Pope*, who to this effect sendeth the Cardinall *Aldobrandin* towards *Henry* for to treat the same. In the mean while every one armeth, some to assault *Piemont*, others to defend it; but the mediation of the Peace was the strongest. For it was concluded in the yeere 1600. wherein *Savoy* was rendered to the Duke, and *Bresse* remained to *Henry* for exchange of the Marquisdome of *Saluces*.

That which made *Henry* commit this errour against his interest, was the desire he had to taste of repose, it being a thing certain that a man ordinarily flatters himselfe in that

whereunto his fancie carries him. This Prince naturally loved his pleasures, and the necessitie of his affaires alwayes ingaged him to labor; So as now seeing himself at peace in his Realm, and beleeving he had done enough for his honor, he chose rather to take a recompence for the said Marquisate, then to imbarke himself in a long warre.

This peace touched *Ferdinand*, great Duke of *Tuscanie*, so much to the heart (for the prejudice that it brought to the libertie of the Princes of *Italie*) that he offered to break it, by the meanes of 200000. crownes, wherewith hee, and the States of *Venice* should furnish

nish the Cardinall *Aldobrandin*. But *Henry* would not hearken to it.

In this affaire, and the sequell thereof, there are two things remarkable. *Viz.* The losse which *France* hath sustained by leaving the Marquisate of *Saluces*: and the advantage that one gets by gaining the Nephews of the Pope. By the *first*, the *French-man* hath lost all credit in the affaires of *Italie*, and the *Spaniard* remains Master there, having no more to contradict him. And by the *second*, as it is a thing well knowne that the approbation of the Pope (on the Catholick partie) is of great consequence. So likewise it is certain, that

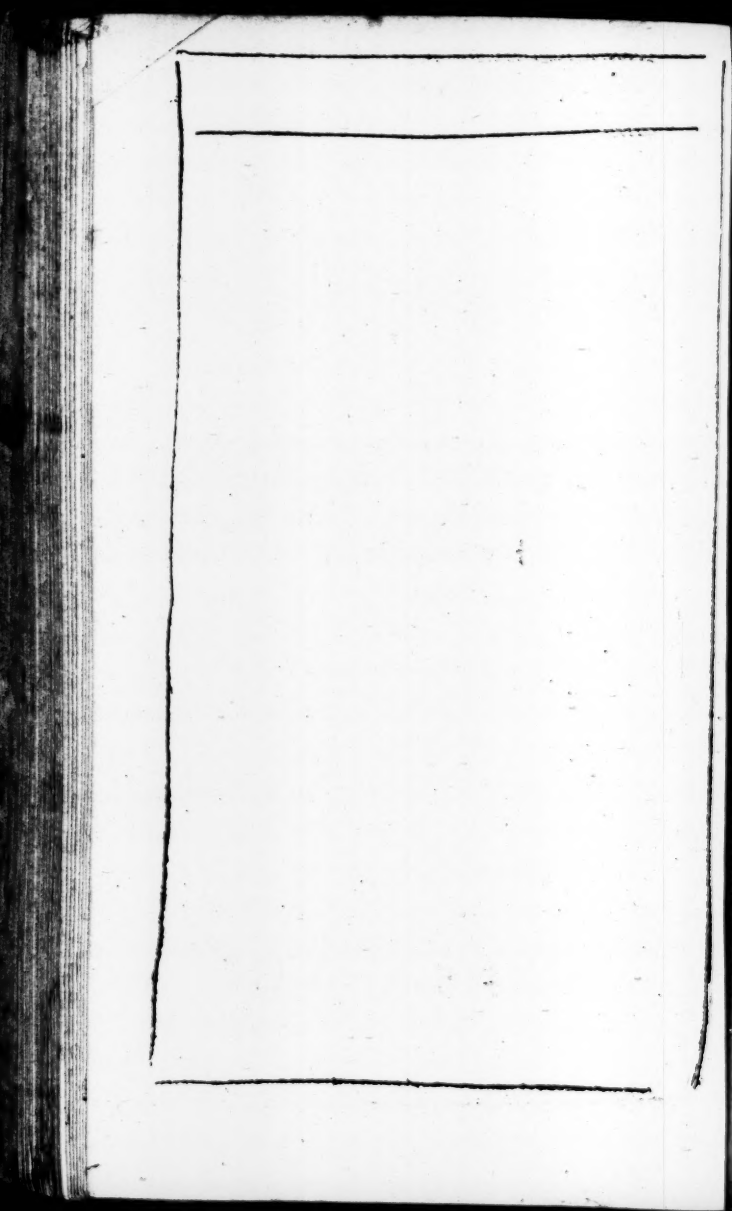
to acquire the same, the one must gaine *his* Nephews, who cannot be won but by readie and reall benefits. For, the establishment of their house being founded upon the life of their *Unkle*, who is commonly old, they will not waste the time in vaine. So as he that doth most readily gratifie them, carries them on his side.

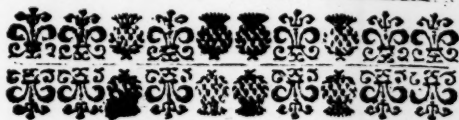
Whence I conclude, that the true interest of the *Spaniard* is, to hinder the entrance of the *French* into *Italie*, to the end that he have not there any opposition.

The true interest of the *French-man* is to have *there* one Port open, thereby to maintaine his reputation, and
to

to share in the affaires, with the
Spaniard.

And the true interest of the
Italians is, throughly to expell
all strangers out of *Italie*, but
not being able to do the same,
their Interest is, to conserve
their libertie by the counter-
poise of these two Powers
of *France* and
Spaine.





THE THIRD
DISCOURSE
UPON
THE DIFFERENCE
*that happened between
Pope Paul V. and the Re-
publike of Venice, the
year 1605.*

SINCE the *Sea* of
Rome seems ele-
vated to that
high point of
Majestie, where-
in we behold it at this present;
It

It is certain that it had designs proportioned to its greatnesse, which have appeared sometimes more, sometimes lesse, according to the Nature of those who enjoyed the *Pope-dome*. For those *Popes* that were endued with sufficient wisdom to sustaine the weight of such a greatnesse, have alwayes much indeavored to make some progression for to approach this marke. But nevertheless they have so cunningly dissembled their enterprise, that from thence there is not arrived any scandall unto *Christendome*, nor any dishonour to the *Church*: Some others thrust on by an inconsiderate zeal, or inflamed with

with a desire to get themselves a name to posterity , or else hurried by the violence of their passions , are come so far therein as to discover this mystery of the *Romane Hierarchy*, which by all reason of prudence and wise government should not have beene revealed , till after it were accomplish'd.

Of the number of these last was Pope *Paul V.* who even from the beginning of his *Papacy*, blaming the moderation of his predecessors, resolved himselfe to take a contrary course , and to doe that (during his life , and out of season) which could not be brought to an end in many
ages

ages, nor by a long succession of favorable occasions.

But for as much as our intentions remaine livelesse, when they have an object whereunto they cannot attaine. *Paul* considering that he should not have to deale with *Kings* so easily as with *Common-wealths* (which being governed as by private persons, seem to have lesse power, because they have lesse luster) he determined for this effect to begin by them. He quarelled first of all at those of *Luca* and *Genoa*, and made them obey, either by triumphing upon their weaknesse, or by interessing himselfe in the differences of particular persons,

sons, who had received, or hoped to receive some advancement by the Court of *Rome*. But not being content with this, he would set upon the *Republike of Venice*, concerning whom the Sea of *Rome* makes shew, not to have had (for certaine time) the satisfaction from thence, which she did expect, for two principall reasons. The first because she excluded all Ecclesiasticall persons from the participation of her government: The second because she gave not any pension to the Court of *Rome*.

The *Pope* was diligent to finde a plausible ground to make the *common-wealth* feeble
the

the effects of his indignation, when in the yeare 1605. There was presented such an occasion as he desired.

An *Abbot*, and a *Canon* (after many scandals committed) were accused of hainous crimes, and brought to *Venice*, where they were imprisoned.

Much about the same time there, the *Republike* renewed two antient Lawes, for to make the same observed in all places of her dominion. The one forbidding that any secular goods should be alienated to Ecclesiasticall persons: The other, wherby it was prohibited to build any Church without the permission of the Senate.

Paul

Paul became offended therat, and said: *he might not endure that Ecclesiasticall men should be judged by secular Authority, for any crime whatsoever, and that it belonged to him alone to condemn, or absolve them, according as it should seeme good unto him.* As for the two Lawes, he said: *they could not subsist, being contrary to the Councels and Imperiall Constitutions.*

The *Venetians* after mature deliberation upon the matter (having weighed on the one side the indignation of the Pope, and on the other side the Common liberty) answered; *That they might not deliver the Church-men justly imprisoned*

prisoned: nor abolish the Lawes justly established, without prejudice to the liberty which God had given them, and which they had maintained for so many ages by the blood of their Predecessors. That their State having prospered by such Lawes, they thought they could not change them without incurring an everlasting brand of infamy to all posterity.

The Pope growes more and more obstinate, and takes a firme resolution to make them obey. The *Venetians* endeavour by all manner of meanes to order the matter handsomely. They alleadge their reasons with more then ordinary submissions, they sent an extraor-

traordinary Embassadour to *Rome*, that by this demonstration of a reverent regard, they might take from the *Pope* the opinion (which he had conceived) that he was neglected, and also thereby give him a faire pretext to retire himselfe from the precipice where he lay. They receive the *Pope's* Briefes (which were so many thunder-stroaks against them) with all honor and respect. They humbly shew the desire they had to content the *Pope* if it were possible without doing wrong to the common interest of all Princes, and to the fundamentall lawes of their government, which binds them to take notice

tice of the buildings that are erected within their Townes, to the end that from thence arise nothing dammageable to the publike good. As for the alienation of *Church-goods*, they cannot permit the same without wholly ruining the forces of their State.

As for the impunity of Ecclesiasticall persons, they say : That in permitting the same, they should not only derogate from their Sovereignty, and the power they hold immediately from God, but also introduce in the State examples of dangerous consequence.

The *Pope* answers : That he regards not their Lawes
whe-

whether old or new: and that it appertained to him, to change them at his pleasure. That he would not allow any treating of the businesse, but an absolute obedience.

In the meane while, he goes about to nullifie the election of the Duke of *Venice*, because it had been made since the beginning of this *difference*, And whilest that he proceeds in this sort, the *Duke of Venice* gives him part of his Election, with the accustomed reverence.

The *Venetians* (to make known the Justice of their cause) doe consult this affaire by persons well versed in such
mat-

maters, and therein they demand the advice of the most famous Doctors of *Europe*: They punctually relate the *Controversie* to all the *Kings* and *Princes* their allies; And to the end that their right might appeare even to posterity, they deliver their answer to the *Pope*, because that if the difference were reconciled, all the world might know that they were justified. The same is to be noted, that they never called home their Ambassador, before the *Pope* had retired his Nuntio. For although the Extraordinary went back to testifie some resentment after the receiving of so many distastes: the Ordinary

dinary never thelesse continued there, to shew that they had alwayes an eare open to agreement. Lastly when they could no longer hold from breaking off, they take a resolution to defend their liberty, with such an unanimous consent, that in the whole *Senate* there was not one voice contrary. Thereby frustrating the hopes which the *Pope* had of disuniting them, according as the *Jesuites* had promised him.

The *Pope* took a clean contrary byas, for (men believed) he cared not a jot whether he went upon good, or ill grounds. He imparted not this businesse to other Princes
till

till very late, neither did he demand the advise even of the Cardinals, but for fashions sake.

Here is that which passed before the breach betwixt the Pope and the *Venetians*, wherein the *Venetians* exactly followed that which belonged to their interest. For their *State* being founded rather by Peace, then by War, and being more considerable for Counsell then for Armes, they ought ever dexterously to avoid any rupture whatsoever.

During the time of the breach, the *Venetians* surmounted even their own selves, having given in this affaire a perpetual example of perfect conduct,

duct, shewing as much constancy and courage in their resentment of the injury which they pretended was done them : as before they had shewed submission to prevent the same. They ever answered those who spake to them of agreement : *That the remedie ought to be applied to the part whence the disease proceeded : That the Pope had received a voluntary displeasure , the remedy whereof was a voluntary repentance.* This notwithstanding, they rejected not any proposition, but much insisted upon this point : *That they had done only what they ought : That the Pope in withdrawing his Nuntio had barred the way to agreement.*

G

ment : That it belonged to him to make good againe, what he himselfe had spoyled : And that when he shall have taken off his pretended censures, they will not seem estranged from Peace. But that which had been most remarkable here, was, that they were not a whit moved for all this tempest, providing with so much prudence (both within and without their State) all that was necessary to sustaine such a shock, that no alteration at all was perceived. The people remained in obedience: the Towns of their Dominion offered their means and forces: the *Religious* obeyed without constraint: there was not shed one drop of blood.

The

The *Pape*, in stead of shewing constancy in his resolution, began to relent so soon as he had wrought his indignation by the interdict, leaving to be understood under-hand, that he would lend an eare to a-
greement, provided that he might save his credit. But when he saw the inflexible stedfastnesse of the *Venetians*, he resolved to have recourse to force, and to interest the Catholike Princes in the same.

France had no other scope in this affaire then to arbitrate the difference, and to have the honor of deciding so important a question between two Princes so considerable

in Christendome. For this effect she shewed not any partiality, although it be true that *Villeroy* (through his ambition to rise to a *Cardinalship*) inclined at the first to the Popes side, serving his turne therein by the ministrations of his sonne, then Ambassador at *Rome*. But seeing himselfe disappointed of his hope, he returned to the temper which a just Mediator ought to have. So it is, that oftentimes privat interest doth prejudice the publike. *Happy are the States, wherein those that sit at the helm of government, have so noble a spirit as not to ayme at any other greatnesse then that which is inseparably conjoynt with the glory*

glory of the Prince whom they serve.

The *Spaniards* conceived it best to foment the discord between the two parties, thinking that it was in their power to hinder the warre, if their profit so required : or else to make it serve their own advantage. They therefore let the businesse run its course without prescribing any thing to their Ambassador which was at *Rome*; who handsomely intertained the Pope in his opinion, with intent to obtaine a Cardinalship for his brother by this meanes.

The *Emperor* was a Mediatour; the King of *Poland* favoured the Republike: the *Prin-*

ces of Germany meddled not at all in the matter.

The *King of England* was glad to see this businesse daily wax hot. He promised all assistance to the Republike of *Venice*, as by all reason he was obliged to deale in this manner. For he believed that this would rowse up the other *Catholike Princes* which were interested to maintaine their Lawes. And that it would be an occasion to deliberate of a *Conncell* which may determine so many Controversies.

The *States of the united-Provinces* offered to the *Venetians* succour of arms and munition.

The

The *Princes of Italie*, since they saw the Pope remaine confused and wavering in himself, as if he had manifestly repented, they appeare all newters in this affaire, following that which belonged to their true interest.

Only the Duke of *Savoy* let himselfe be transported by his passion. For the Republike having written to his children with the title of Excellence, as he had accustomed to doe, He in despite kept Chappell without admitting there the Ambassador of *Venice*, and this at instance of the Nuntio residing neer unto him. It is not in this affaire alone, that this Prince hath carried himself ra-

ther capriciously , then after the true Maxime of his Interest.

France continued to sollicite the Accord, without shewing any passion for the one party, or the other; following herein her true *interest*. For because one shall hardly see an open warre betwixt two so pacifique Princes, She could not reape any other profit by this difference, then the honor only to have reconciled the same.

The *Spaniards* perceiving this, began to recoile, and desire to have a hand in making *Peace*, since they could not have it in *Warre*, They judged well that the Pope was disposed

sed to cast himself into their armes, and to go which way they would, because he had a mind to agreement. But they saw also the *Venetians* so firme in their resolution, as they had no hope to bend them. Wherefore they essayed to trouble them with the *Turk*, to the end they might be constrained to have recourse unto them, and that by this means it should be in their power, to bring the Senate to accept such conditions as the *Pope* pleased to allow them. But they failed so much in that which they endeavored to doe by the means of the *Turk*, as (on the contrary) it became advantageous to the *Republike*. For

G 5 though

though the *Marquesse de Saint Croy* having ransacked *Duras*, believed that the *Turks* (to take revenge) would turn against the *Republike*, as being neereſt, or at least enter within the *Gulfe*. Yet it happened that the *Turk* perceiving the *Spaniſh* wiles, commanded the Admirall of his Fleet to ayde the *Venetians* against the *Pope* and the *Spaniards*. But the *Republike* judging it not fit to make uſe of ſuch a help (for feare the remedy ſhould be worſe then the diſeaſe it ſelf) ſhe put it off ſo handſomly that the *Grand Signior* received not any diſtaſte thereby. Nevertheless making the *Pope* underſtand, that in caſe of neceſſity,

sity, she well knew whither to have recourse.

The *Spaniards*, out of season offered a whole entire Army to the *Pope*. Some believed that it was for to reclaime the *Venetians* by this way, but it was nothing lesse. For all whatsoever the *Spaniards* did then for the *Pope*, proceeded only because the Duke of *Lerma* was tickled with vain-glory, for that the *Pope* in his Briefs had given him the title of *Excellence*.

Lastly they perceived in *Spaine* that this busines would be ended by treaty, and that *France*, was to have all the honor thereof. This made them about, to send extraordinary
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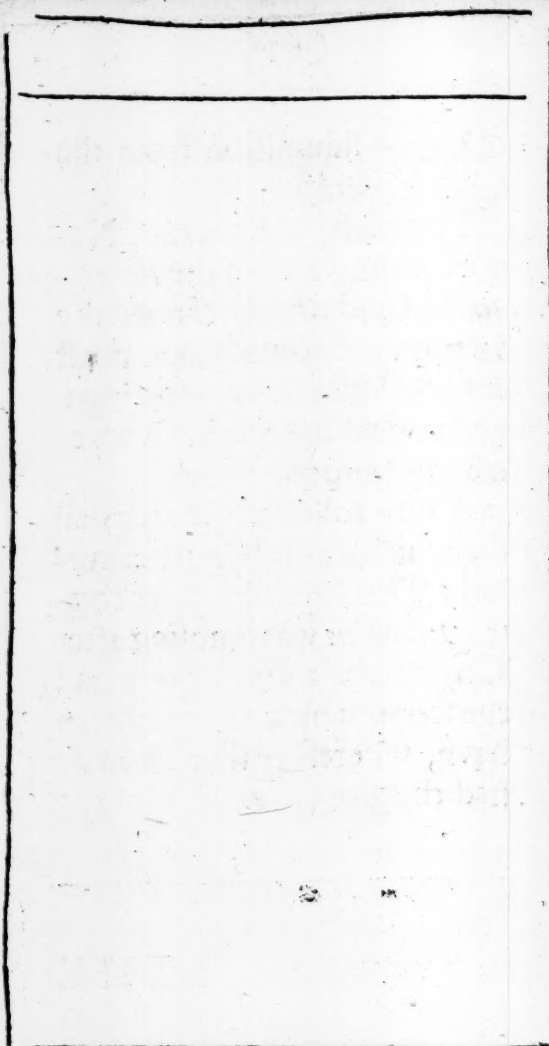
Embassadors from the one side to the other, but it was too late, the negociation being so far advanced by the *French*, that it was impossible to get it out of their hands. Inſomuch as whatſoever the *Spaniards* could do to croſſe the Treaty, the honour thereof remained full and wholly to *Henry*, who ended the buſineſſe by the dexterity and prudence of the *Cardinall de Joyeuſe*, and of *Frenes-Canaye*, ordinary Embaſſador at *Venice*. The Priſoners were delivered into the hands of the Embaſſador: The Lawes of the *Rebuplike* continued without alteration: and the *Pope* was forced to take off the Interdict without any
to-

token of submission from the said *Republike*.

This hath been a war of Negotiation, wherein the *Venetians* full and wholly carried the victory. Likewise one must acknowledge, they were engaged to deal in that part wherein they were most able.

They followed therein all the maxims of their true interest: The *Pope* did quite contrary: *Spaine* was amusing after Chymeraes: and *France* had the scope which she ought to have, wherefore shee likewise had the glory.

THE





THE FOURTH
DISCOURSE

Concerning
THE TRUCE
OF
the *Low-Countries* with
the KING of
Spaine.



HE Truce of the
Low -- Countries
with the King
of *Spaine*, is an
infallible proofe
of the excellence of the *Spani-*
ards

ards in matter of Negotia-
tion.

The King of *Spaine* seeing that in fortie yeers space, the warre had augmented, and enriched this *State*, in stead of overthrowing it, and that it would greatly diminish his reputation to treat of Peace with those, whom (even till then) he had treated as Rebels, he therefore resolved to doe his utmost to enter into their Countrey, and to make them feelee (even within their inrailes) the discommoditie of Warre. For which purpose, he employed the two last Summers under the command of Marquesse *Spinola*, one of the renownedst Captaines of
the

the time, Who with powerfull Armies endeavored to enter, the first yeere into *Frisland*, and the second into *Holland*. Neverthelesse *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* (a Captaine to whom we owe the restauration of the ancient militarie discipline) although he was much inferior to the forces of *Spinola*, yet he made so good use of the situation of his Countrey, that he frustrated all his endeavors. This having deprived the King of *Spaine* of all hope to conquer by force, he resolved at last to make triall of a Treatie, at the cost even of his reputation. But his end herein was, First, to secure the traffick of the *Indies* : where hee was
 endama-

endamaged by them, 2. to divide them in the time of peace: and lastly, to beare armes more advantageously against people lesse trained in warre, and more easie to subdue, being confident that any good successe in some affaire would make him recover that reputation which he then hazarded, and whereof he hath been ever jealous. A *Monke* did first lay open the matter to a *Holland* Merchant. The hope given to the *States*, that in this Accord, the King of *Spaine* would acknowledge them for *free States*, made them give eare, whereupon followed a suspension of Arms for to treat more at large.

This

This intermission awaked the interessed and neighbour Princes. HENRY's minde was troubled with the true interest of his Estate, which hee best of all knew, and also by his particular affections. The *States* (by reason of their interest) had succoured him in his necessitie: He (for the same reason) powerfully assisted them in his prosperitie. He willingly would have them continue the Warre, provided that he augmented not his assistance: They offered to continue the same, on condition that he would double the money which he gave them yeerly. The desire of doing thriftilly, made him seeme to incline,

cline, and not altogether abandon his true interest, thinking it should be a great advantage for him to remove from his frontiers such good Armes which a Peace, or long Truce might dissipate, and that it should be a great honor for him to cause the *Low-Countries* to be declared a free *State*, In-somuch as hee bent his thoughts to become Arbitrator of this Negotiation, and to make it succeed advantageously for the *Low-Countries*.

JAMES the First, King of *England*, Whose strong inclination to peace, did not also permit him to follow the true Interest of his Realme, which was to nourish Warre in the
Low-

Low-Countries, for to consume the forces of *Spaine*, and hinder their enterprife upon him, he contents himself to have part in the Treatie by his Embassadors.

Divers Protestant Princes of *Germanie* (imagining well that the Armes of *Spaine* being no more imployed there, might fall upon them) doe likewise send their Embassadors, of purpose to divert this Accord, or else to procure the protection of those that intermedled in the businesse.

Maurice whose particular interest was joyned with the true Interest of the *States*, wholly withstood the Accord. *Berna-veld*, who had most abilitie in the

the State-affaires of the Countrey , seeing that his own credit grew in Peace rather then in warre , he would have the interests of the *State* to serve his own ends. Here is the true pourtrait of those that dealed in this affaire.

But for the better understanding of the true interest of the *States* , we must remount higher, and come to the originall. *William* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, who alone in this Age had the honor to found a State (although neither his disgraces received, nor the endeavors of *PHILIP*, the most puissant and able Prince of his Time, could have hindred him) was constrained
to

to assemble the peeces for to
compose a bodie thereof, with
such conditions as each Town
and Province required. For,
having met with people that
have ever affected their liber-
tie more then their very lives,
he could not alter the condi-
tions whereupon they first joyn-
ed themselves unto him. This
same hath caused in this *State*
so many Republikes as there be
Townes, amongst whom (in
a generall decree) plurality of
voices have no place, because
that if any one Towne ap-
prove it not, she is not bound
to observe it. So as he devised
rather to flatter them in their
libertie, that he might whol-
ly take off their desire to com-
plie

plie with *Philip*, then to propound unto them good lawes, for to maintaine them in the time of Peace.

His son *Maurice*, brought up from his infancie in Armes, thought principally of the establishing of military discipline, as the thing then most necessary to uphold the *State*, wherein he surpassed all the Captaines of his time. Inso-much as this *State* being exceeding well grounded for to subsist by warre, and as ill to maintaine it self in Peace, it is evident, that the true interest thereof is to continue the Warre.

According to the interest of each Prince, their Embassadors

dors being assembled at the *Hague*, did worke about. The *Spaniards* make a great difficultie to ratifie the declaration of the *Archdukes* (who acknowledged the *States* free, and soveraigne) to the intent to make them better relish the same, and that in yeelding they might obtaine of them conditions that would worke their ruine. As, the grant of libertie of conscience to *Catholicks*, thereby to make divisions among them : The privation of traffick in the *Indies*, and so to make a mutinie by the Merchants, the most considerable corporation amongst them : Besides the exchange of certaine places most advantage-

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ous

ous to the King of *Spaine*, and most prejudiciall to the said *States*.

Maurice earnestly opposed such conditions : *Bernaveld* durst not countenance them. *France* and *England* (percei-ving the venome hidden under the same) could not digest them. In such wise as all Treatie of peace being broken, they renew that of a Truce for many yeers. *Mau-ric* doth his best to hinder it, but *Barnaveld* backed by *France* and *England*, is the cause they did hearken to it. The work begins anew; and the *Spaniards* seeing they could not obtaine the conditions which they desired, ima-
gining

gining also their repose to be very necessary, at length they gave over, saving that the Article, which declared the *States free*, and that of traffick in the *Indies* were couched so obscurely, as they might save their reputation, and interpret them to their own advantage, as occasion should serve.

On the other side, the *French* for to induce the *States* to conclude, make a league with them, wherein they obleige themselves to give them pay for ten thousand Souldiers. Specially for to make them keep the Truce, in case it should be broken on the *spaniards* side; whereupon the *Spaniards* complaining, they were

answered, that whatsoever was done, was for their good, and that without doing the same, nothing could be obtained. *Maurice* for his part, yeelds unto that which he could not hinder, conditionally that the Armie might be maintained for the security of the State, *Henry* approveth this condition, and contributeth to the maintenance of 4000. Foote, and 200. Horse. So as, the Truce was concluded for 12. yeers: the *States* acknowledged *free and Sovereigne*: and their Ambassadors received in this qualitie by Princes. Thus ended this negociation, which lasted two yeers, where each one endeavors to deceive the other,

other, and also flatters himself with the perswasion of having gotten that which he had desired.

In effect, *Henry* had the most honor in this affaire, and the *States* (by his means) the most profit. But he being dead, and *Lewis* upon the Throne, at 9. yeers of age, there was an universall alteration in *France*. For, *Mary* had obtained the Regencie, and willing to strengthen her authoritie against the Princes of the blood, and great ones of the Realme, she procured a disunion amongst them, and cast her self into the armes of *Rome* and *Spaine*, beleeving that she had then need of the former Po-

er, and alwaies of the latter, insomuch as during the time of her government, the true interest of *France* being abandoned, there was taken the contrarie course.

The *Spaniards* lost not so good an occasion, especially upon the *Low-Countries*, in the businesse of the *Arminians*, the which *Bernaveld* (seeing himself upheld by *France*, through the practises of *Spaine*) undertook to maintaine against the Prince of *Orange*, in such wise, as that from a dispute of Religion, there was made an affaire of State, so pernicious, that it was like to ruine this Common-wealth. Here it was where the *Spaniard* displayed
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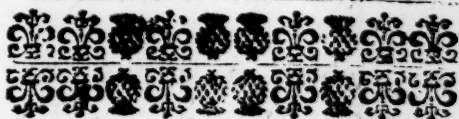
all his cunning, for to make *Mary* worke in this Countrey, according to his interests. He perswaded her that her disunion was advantageous to her, to maintain her authoritie. To the end that she might not assist the Princes of the blood discontented with her, nor the Protestants of *France* which might joyne with the said Princes. He makes her to act a superstitious zeale, which is an evill counsellor to those that entertaine it. So as the Ambassadors of *France* (under the pretence of zeal to Religion) become solicitors of the affaires of *spaine* in *Holland*. They favour the cause of *Bernaveld*: they foment the divi-

sion within the State : they bring it upon the very brinke of its downfall , and had it not been for the patience, and constant courage of *Maurice* , assisted by the souldiers, this Republike had run the hazard, to seem as soone extinct, as born.


By that which is aforesaid, and by the sequell of affaires, one may judge that the true interests of the State of the *United Provinces*, are to maintaine warre against *Spaine* , otherwise it would be ruined of it self. The interests of *France* and *England* are to assist the said State, for to give *Spaine* this bone to pick. The Interests of the *Germane* Princes are to foment the same , to the
end

end that by the fall of this burden, they likewise be not overthrowne. And the interests of *Spaine* are to keepe all the other in broiles amongst themselves, or set them one against another, least they should all accord against her. Therefore so soone as any of them have abandoned these maximes, their affaires fall to the ground.

H 5 THE



THE FIFTH
DISCOURSE
UPON
THE AFFAIRE
about the Succession of
Cleves and Julliers.

 SINCE the time
of CHARLES
the Fifth, Ger-
manie lived very
happie, so long
as shee kept her true interest,
and whilst that the *Emperour*
did

did contain himself within the bounds of the laws of the *Empire*, which ballancing the power thereof with that of the Princes and Republiques of *Germanie*, suffered them not to usurpe one upon another.

The first that forsook this interest were the *Princes Electors*, in having continued the Imperiall dignitie without interruption to many of one and the same family, who in tract of time have raised the same to the prejudice of the Imperiall Lawes, the which hath chiefly happened to the house of *Austria*, specially since this house and that of *Spaine* have been both the self same thing. For, seeing her selfe

selfe established in so high a
 dignitie , and supported by
 such a power , she was willing
 to be there perpetuated , and
 because she would not be vio-
 lently incountered hereafter,
 she hath essayed to put down
 those who had lawfull right to
 interrupt that course, endeavor-
 ing likewise to lift up her selfe
 by abolishing the lawes of the
 Empire , and by usurping the
 principall States, and Townes
 thereof.

The first evident occasion
 that hath manifested in our
 time this designe , was upon
 the succession of *Cleves* and
Julliers , which happened in
 the beginning of *March* , the
 yeare 1609. occasioned by
 the

the death of *John William*, who having no children of his own, left this goodly heritage to his four sisters married, to the Elector of *Brandebourg*: to the Duke of *Newbourg*: to the Duke of *Deu-ponts*: and to the Marq. of *Turgaw*. The first of these laid claim to the succession entire, as indivisible, having married the eldest. The second makes the same claim, because the eldest sister died before the brother, & his wife was the eldest of the sisters living. The two other say, that it ought to be equally parted betwixt them all four. Moreover the Elector of *Saxonie* revived an old title, and also the Duke of *Nevers* another. *Brandebourg*
and

and *Nembourg* enter in possession, the Emperor becomes offended thereat, pretending that the whole heritage ought to be sequestred into his hands, and each of them to undergoe his ordinance. He sends thither *Leopold* a Prince of his own House, who seisseth on *Fulliers* the principall fortresse of the Countrie.

The Princes that were in possession, seeing such an obstacle, judged well that this sequestration tended to an usurpation, and not thinking themselves able enough to resist, in regard of the neighborhood of *Flanders*, and of the best forces of *spaine* (who in an occasion so advantageous
for

for the house of *Austria* would not faile to helpe her kinsman) they have recourse to those, who were principally interested to impeach the amplification of the said House. They rally to their defence, *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, with the most part of the Protestant Princes of *Germanie*, who made such a mighty warlike provision to recover *Julliers* seised by the said *Leopold*, that notwithstanding the unexpected death of *Henry*, which happened before the execution, yet the designe was happily accomplished, *Spaine* not daring to oppose it.

One may see in this affaire,
every

every ones true interest. That of the *Emperor* was, to make use of the occasion to catch hold of such an estate in *Germany*: That of the King of *Spain*, to assist him therein, as well for the principall end, which is, the advancement of the whole House, as for the Neighbourhood of the said State to *Flanders*: That of the lawfull successors, was to maintaine their owne right: That of the *Germane* Princes; not to suffer that Power whereof they were jealous, to be strengthened by their owne weakning: And the interests of *France, England* and *Holland* were, not to permit the amplifying of all the House of *Austria*.

stria. Hitherto every one played his game aright; but *Mary*, for to support the interests of *Spaine*, that promised her to maintain hers even to the end, abandoneth those of *France*, and again secondeth the trouble about this succession.

The occasion was offered by the imprudence of the Princes that held the possession, which caused the King of *Spaine* to reattempt the businesse. The sonnes of *Brandebourg* and *Neubourg* did joyntly governe this faire Estate. The fortresses were guarded by equal garrisons: they dwelt in the same Pallace, and managed their affaires with one common hand. But this last-
ed

ed not long, it being no easie matter to governe a State long time after this manner without dissention, especially between two Princes of diverse houses, where there is also diversitie of Religion. They began to enter into jealousie one of another. Those that were friends to them both, and interested in their subsistence, perceiving the same, and fearing least their misintelligence should increase, perswaded them to make an alliance together. *Newbourg* agreesthereto, goes to the Elector *Brandebourg*, and requires of him his daughter in marriage. But as the best meats, being corrupted, turn

turn into the strongest poison: so in the most wholesome counsell given to these *Princes*, to confirme their amitie, there was found occasion of a most implacable hatred, which caused the ruine of them both in the said succession. For, whilst they were in the deboshes of their feasts, the *Electör* upon some discourse that did not please him, offended *Newbourg* so farre (even in his own house, and at the table) as to give him a boxe on the eare, for which he would not afterward make him any reasonable satisfaction : In such wise, that in stead of a wife, he carries back an offence so engraven in his heart, as he admit-
teth

teth no other counsell, but that of revenge. This spirit thus exasperated, being upon returne to *Cleve-land*, it was easie for the *Spaniards* to gaine him to them. They made means to marry him with the sister of the Duke of *Bavaria*, perswaded him to turn *Catholick*, for to make all the *Catholick* league of *Germanie* to be on his side; they take him into Protection, and give him a pension,

The *United States* seing how prejudiciall this change would be to them, they supported *Brandebourg*. These Princes from suspicions, doe come to attempts, *Newbourg* seiseth on *Dusseldorp* : *Brandebourg*

bourg on *Julliers*, from whence the King of *Spain* takes a pretext to stirre, and armeth powerfully to recover the same. The *States* on the other side, prepare to defend it. They furnish it with men and munition fit to sustain a great siege. The true interests of *France* being forsaken, they had nothing from thence but words, and Embassages; *England* seeing *France* had given off, was contented to doe the like, in sending her Ambassadors. The Princes of *Germanie* seeing themselves forsaken of these two Crownes, and divided amongst themselves, both by Religion, and by the different affections that they bore

to

to those two Princes, they therefore stirre not at all. *Spaine* finding now no other opposition, but onely from the *United States*, prosecuteth her intentions, and whilst she amusethe the Ambassadors of these two Kings, shee sends *Spinola* into the countrey with a puissant Armie, who in stead of setting upon *Julkiers* (which was then but a rude enterprise) he goes to invade the *States*, hee passeth the *Rhine*, assaults and takes *Wezel* within foure daies.

Maurice seeing this exploit, he delayes no longer, leaves the Ambassadors in their Negotiation, takes *Rez* and *Emerrick*, and at length (a thing never

never before seene) these two Armies seize upon this heritage without impeachment one of another without breaking the Truce: and also without making any skirmish at all. For, when one of these Captains had possessed a place, the other still retired, not pretending any thing there. So as he that was most diligent, made the most progression. The reason of this gentle dealing was, because *Spinola* knew well the Armie of *Maurice* to be better then his owne, *Maurice* likewise well understood that the safeguard of the *States* consisted in the subsistence of his Armie. So as he beleaved he should come off with

with the King of *Spaine*: without exposing any thing to danger.

It is now easie to judge that the ruine of the Princes which were in the possession, proceeded from hence. *Viz.* Because that *Newbourg* forsaking his true interest, to follow his passion, cast himself into the armes of *Spain*: Because the *Protestant* Princes of *Germanie* not considering their true interest, did not stirre at all: likewise because *France* embracing not the interest of *Maurice*, forsook her own, and for that *England* did the like with *France*. On the other side, the advantage that *Spaine* and the *Low-Countries* have gotten in this

I con-

conquest proceeded hence,
for that both the one and the
other were entirely fixed
upon their true
interest.



THE



THE SIXT
DISCOURSE
UPON
THE ELECTION
OF
*the Count Palatine to
the Kingdome of
Bohemia.*

IF the quantitie
of set battells,
or the number
of the persons
slaine : or the
revolution of
fundrie *States* : or the quality
I 2 of

of the Princes interessed : or the length of the time might make a Warre memorable, then that which *Germanie* now suffers, is in the highest degree, since that there are given already more then fifteen battells : three hundred thousand men have lost their lives in the same : almost all the States of *Germanie* have thereby changed their condition, and their Masters : all the Princes of *Europe* have taken an interest therein : and it is now fourteen yeers since the warre begun, without being yet ended.

The occasion thereof happened through the rejection of *Ferdinand* of *Austria* from the
the

the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, and the Election of the said Kingdome conferred on the person of *Frederic* Count *Palatine* of *Rheine*.

The *first* would establish himselfe in a dignitie, which he beleevved was unjustly taken from him: The *second* would maintaine himselfe in the Kingdome, as being justly chosen thereunto. The *first* would make it a businesse of Religion, thereby to interest all the Catholick Princes of *Europe* in the same: The *second* would shew that it was nothing else but a State-warre, that he might interest in the same all those by whom the greatnesse of *Spaine* was suspected.

But for to judge well of this great commotion, one ought to remount a little higher. It is certainethat since the warre which happened about the succession of *Cleves* and *Julliers*, *Germanie* was as it were divided in two factions, and (in imitation of the Catholics) the Protestants also had made a league, whereof the Prince Elector *Palatine* was chosen Chief, as the Duke of *Bavaria* had been of the other. The pretence which every one took for the defence of his Religion, did agravate the matter amongst them. And the secure peace which this Nation had enjoyed a long time, did not permit her (following the
revo-

revolution of this world) to abide thus any longer. There wanted only an occasion to make her bandie against her selfe.

The *Bohemians* present this occasion, whether it were by reason of their naturall ficklenesse, or for being ill treated in the libertie of their consciences, or else through some discontentment of the principall men amongst them, or for all these reasons together, they reject *Ferdinand* their King, and choose *Frederick* in his place. And (for to render themselves so much the more irreconcilable with him) in the full assemblie of the States, they cast those of his

party out of the windows.

This action arrived in the yeere 1619. after which every one tooke armes. The Protestants were the forwardest, for they were already prepared to it, and attended onely the bruit of this Election to begin the game. Amongst those who took part with *Frederick*, he that brought the most powerfull assistance, was *Bethleem Gabor*, who from an ordinary Gentleman being made Prince of *Transilvania*, and fearing the house of *Austria*, which had alwayes endeavored to appropriate this State, he put himself into the protection of the *Turk* for to secure the same: and finding so faire

an opportunitie to depreſſe this Houſe, his intereſt ſuffered him not to looſe it. The *United Provinces* (not to be wanting to their intereſt) doe here contribute on their part. The King of *Denmark* for the ſame reaſon, and alſo for his honor and reputation, aſſiſteth his Nephew. King JAMES more intereſſed then he, forgetteth his intereſt concerning his Son in law. The King of *France* likewise drawes back, and ſtands Neuter. At this beginning, *Ferdinand* is ill handled, and reduced to great extremities.

Here *Spaine*, ſeeing that ſhe muſt venture her ſhare too, or elſe looſe both her hopes and

reputation, she spares nothing, but useth all manner of means. In *Germanie* she urgeth the Elector of *Saxonie* against the *Palatine* in point of honor, she remonstrates unto him that he holds his Electorship of the house of *Austria*, and that he cannot maintaine it without her. At *Rome* she perswades the *Pope* that her losse is the ruine of the Catholick Religion, and the means to make all Christendome a prey to the *Turke*. Infomuch as the *Pope* abandoning his true interest, takes part with her, furnisheth both men and money, and laboureth to declare the other Catholick Princes for her defence. In *England* she easilie enter-

entertaines King J A M E S in his peaceable inclination. In *France* (by the Nuntio's help) she gaineth the Duke *de Luine*, who having usurped neere L E W I S the authoritie that M A R Y had there possessed, he took also the same maximes, supporting himselfe by *Spaine*, which never faileth in such occasions to maintain those who distrusting their owne worth, seeke their securitie out of the Realme. So as the interest of a Favorite being preferred before that of the State, they assist *Spaine*. But to the end that it might be with more profit, and lesse noise, they undertake an agreement : they send Ambassadors to both parties :
they

they amuse the *Protestants* with faire hopes : they make them loose the opportunitie of a victorie, which they had in hand, and they induce them to disarm. In the mean while the *Catholicks* having this time for respite, strengthen themselves on all sides; take their advantage: prosecute their former designs, and by gaining the battell of *Prague*, wholly ruine their enemies.

In this revolution of affairs, *Spaine* makes good use of the victorie, continues her intelligences amongst her Neighbours, that she might not be diverted in her conquests, and joynes her forces of *Flanders* to those of *Italie*, for to become

come absolute Mistresse of the Empire. Feare and corruption interpose amongst the Princes of *Germanie*, and the Imperiall Townes, Every one hasteth to submit himself to the •yoake, distrusting least he should not be time enough received there. The Counsellors of Princes, and Magistrates of Common-wealthes are corrupted by money, and all contribute to forge the irons of their own bondage.

This kind of proceeding makes the King of *Denmarke* feare least the firing of *Germanie* consume him, he takes the defence thereof, and goes into the field, but is vanquished, looseth part of his dominions,
and

and for to recover it againe, is constrained to make a dishonorable peace. The *Transilvanian* seeing this disorder, maketh his peace likewise, but so much the better by reason of the *Turk's* protection.

Here was the issue of the second revolution of the affaires of *Germanie*, which proceeded chiefly from this, that *France* prostituted her interest to the greatnesse of *Spaine*.

We should come now to the third revolution. *It is oftentimes more difficult to governe our selves well in great prosperity, then in adversity; because that the one ingenders neglect, and lulls us in idlenesse: but the necessity of the other keeps us wa-*
king,

king, and makes us search the means of our restoration. Such was the case of the House of *Austria*, who seeing her self from such a heavie blow authorized beyond her hopes, absolute Mistresse of *Germany*, of innumerable armies entertained at the cost of her enemies, *France* not stirring against her proceedings, and besides imbroiled in Civill warres. *England* yet forgetting her interest. *Holland* having enough to doe to conserve her owne, and *Italie* without appearance of being able to defend it self, Shee therefore feareth nothing, but despiseth all: in such wise, as without hiding any more her de-

designe under the pretence of Religion (wherewith she had so well served her purpose, even to the present) she openly invades the Territories of the Duke of *Mantua*, being a great Catholike, vaunting she could not suffer a Prince that was *French-borne* to possesse any State in *Italy*, which is the first remarkable error that she committed against her owne interest. For, this usurpation gave all the Princes of *Italie* to understand, that the tempest would come whirling upon them, insomuch as the Duke of *Mantua* was assisted by the most resolute amongst them.

LEWIS cannot digest this affront, and being assisted
 with

with a Counsell, whose prudence and resolution was necessary in such a perillous conjunction of affaires, he fortunately imployed his Armes in his defence; Which was the first occasion of importance, wherein hee recovered the usage of his true interest. But seeing that diversions in *Germanie* were needfull for him, and not finding the same amongst the *Germanis* being oppressed with the burden of so grievous a subjection, hee goes to seek them in the cold Northerne parts. The renown of *GUSTAVUS*, King of *Swedeland* had been carried even unto him. This Prince his desire of glory made him
easi-

easilie surmount any difficul-
 ties hee could imagine: like-
 wise his vast and great designs
 he surpassed, as it were, by such
 a courage in execution, as
 made him not dishearken
 to any enterprize. The con-
 quests of WALSTEIN (Ge-
 nerall of the *Emperor's* armie)
 upon the *Baltick* sea, and the
 provisions which he made to
 render himselfe Master there,
 made the King of *Swede-land*
 know, that he might well be
 in suspicion of the House of
Austria, and that his interest
 was to oppose the same. Hee
 therefore allieth himself with
France, and prepares to enter
 into *Germanie*, for to deli-
 ver it from the thraldome
 where-

whereunto it was reduced.

Here is the second fault that *Spaine* committed against her true interest, to wit, the condemning of this Prince. For whilst that on the one side he enters into *Germanie*, the *Emperor* (at the sollicitation of the King of *Spaine*) sendeth his best troupes into *Italie* against the Duke of *Mantua*, which were neere all perished there without any great effect. And the successe of *GUSTAVUS* in *Germanie* was such, as that those of the *Emperor's* side and the *Spaniards*, were faine to conclude a peace in *Italie* with the *French* (at the expence of what they had gotten, and of that reputation where-

whereof they make so great esteem) for to draw back the remainder of their scattered troupes to the succour of *Germanie*, leaving in the hand of the *French*, *Cazal* for a place of armes in *Italie*, and *Pignerol* as a port to enter therein. So as the desire to conquer *Italie* before they were well assured of the conquest of *Germanie*, made them loose both the one and the other.

This happy exploit of **L E W I S**, made him acknowledg his former errors, and wholly embrace his true interest. Hee delivers the *Grizons* from their servitude; diverteth the united *States* from accepting a Truce, maintain-

taineth the *Swedish* partie notwithstanding the death of **GUSTAVUS**, defendeth the Elector of *Triers* against the persecutions of the *Spaniards*, and chastiseth the Duke of *Lorraine* for adhering to the *Emperor*. In a word, he doth bravely recover his place, which his ill Counsellours had made him forgoe.

Pope **U R B A N** seeing himselfe delivered from the apprehension of the *Spaniards* and *Germanes*, having likewise understood by the invasion made upon the Duke of *Mantua*, that they would deale no otherwise with the Catholick States, then with the Protestants, he thereupon opposeth them. The
 Repub-

Republike of *Venice* that considers better then any other State what belongs to her true interest, and which never fails but in too much circumspection (as ordinarily those Common-wealths doe, which are not founded by Armes.) she continueth neverthelesse her assistance to the Duke of *Manua*. *Amedis* Duke of *Savoye* receiving instruction by the danger that he and his Father were in, to loose their Estates through neglecting their true interest, doth now rejoyne himself to *France*. The other Princes of *Italie* seeing the aide of *France* could be no impeachment to them, let goe the apprehension which they
had

had of the *Spaniards*. The *Germane* Princes and *Imperiall* Townes seeing themselves supported by the armes of *France* and *Swede-land*, assisted by the diversion of their other allies, and reassured by the prosperous successe of their affaires, they take courage againe. *England* alone, as if she were in another world, remains without meddling at all.

On the other side, *Spaine* failes not to animate her cause, takes up againe the pretence of the *Catholick* Religion, which shee had as it were left off, and perceiving the error she committed thereby, cryeth more then ever

ever against the *Protestants*,
 exceedingly urgeth the *Pope*
 to have of him his money,
 and his fulminations, ma-
 keth much of the *Veneti-*
ans, courteth the *English*,
 intertaineth dissention in the
 house Royall of *France*,
 mightily endeavoureth to
 draw the *United Provinces*
 to a Truce, laboureth to
 disingage the Duke of *Saxo-*
nte from the *Swedish* par-
 tie, neither is shee cast off
 by any repulse. And yet
 notwithstanding shee spares
 neither men nor money for
 to raise new armies to op-
 pose her enemies. In brief,
 necessitie hath reduced every
 one to follow his true in-
 terest,

terest, which is the reason
that in this last revolution,
the contestation about
these affaires is of long-
er continuance.

* * *



K THE



THE SEVENTH
DISCOURSE
UPON
THE COMMOTI-
ons that happened in *Italy*
for the succession of the
Dutchies of Mantua and
Montferrat.

ITALIE enjoy-
ed a profound
peace, and found
it selfe wholly
exempt from su-
spicions, which are wont to
K 2. di-

disturbe the repose of States, when on a sudaine happened the death of FRANCIS Duke of *Mantua*, which (one may say) produced the seeds of all those troubles that have at severall times since disrested this Country. For CHARLES E M A N U E L, Duke of *Savoy*, quarrelling (in right of his grand-childe MARIE) for the Dutchie of *Montferrat* with FERDINAND, so inkindled the fire of warre in *Italie*, as since it was never so well extinct, but that from time to time the cinders thereof have caused new flames.

FERDINAND supported rather by the justice of his cause, then by his own forces, implo-

implored the aide of all the Princes, which by common interest were obliged not to suffer such an outrage.

M A R I E, in whose hands at that time lay the government of F R A N C E, thinking of nothing more (during the minoritie of the King her sonne) then to maintaine her selfe in peace, she beleevved she had enough to doe to smother the factions of the Kingdome, and to appease by all meanes those that were capable to resist her authoritie. So she regarded the commotions of *Italy* no further then to endeavor to assuage them, and shee imployed her credit to induce the *Pope* to interpose be-

tween the two parties for their accord.

The King of *Spaine* considered the beginning of this discord after another manner: For perceiving the advantage that might from thence accrue unto him, he intermedled so farre in all the whole course of this affaire, as he failed but very little to draw from thence advantages proportionable to his designs.

The Princes of *Italie*, whilst the game was playing, looked on without meddling therewith. The *grand Duke* undertook the defence of the Duke of *Mantua*, beleeving he was obliged by his proper interest to assist the weaker against

gainst the stronger, besides the particular reasons that incited him thereunto.

The Duke of *Savoy*, seeing the small advancement that he could hope for from his enterprise, hearkened to an accord which was proposed to him, and letting the businesse be put to a treatie, he contented himselfe with the glory that he durst undertake to usurpe upon his Neighbour, and so all this goodly designe vanished into smoake, even as it had been plotted against all reason, it being not the interest of a Duke of *Savoy*, nor of any other Prince of *Italie* to imbroile himself with his neighbors, since all the advantage

that can redound from the same, is to see the difference reconciled by the power of one of these two Kings, which cannot be without manifest danger.

This businesse so ended, the King of *Spain*, who had an eye ever upon *Piemont*, as a piece that lay fit for him, sought a plausible pretext to quarrell the Duke of *Savoy*. For, considering *France* out of case to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, the Duke of *Savoy*, by the late warre, exhausted both of men and money, and the other Princes of *Italy* disunited betwixt themselves, He thought fit to take his time to enter into *Piemont*, hoping, as he

he had had the glory to be arbitrator of the first controverſie, without gaining ſo favorable an occaſion for his particular profit, he would make amends for his default by reſtoring a ſecond warre. Hee invaded then the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy*, where finding more reſiſtance then he expected, he was in the end ſaine to make peace. It is true that *France* beſtirred herſelfe in this ſecond occaſion, but the principall commendation therein is due to the Marſhall *de Lesdiguieres*, who in all this warre (albeit that he followed his particular ends) engaged *France* to embrace her true intereſt, as ſhe ought to

have done in the former commotion.

This second trouble being appeased, the most understanding men judged well that *Italie* was not to continue longtime in peace. Because they saw FERDINAND, Duke of *Mantua* childlesse, and his brother VINCENT leading so disordered a life, as they beleaved he could not live long, and the event was answerable to their opinion. For, after FERDINAND'S death, VINCENT (continuing the disorders whereunto he had formerly accustomed his body) died, leaving his cousen CHARLES de GONZAGUE, Duke of *Nevers,*

vers, heire of his Estates, who alone by all right could pretend there.

The death of V I N C E N T, although it was well enough foreseene, yet it astonished all the Princes of *Italie* in such a manner as every one began seriously to consider his affaires.

The *Venetians* foreseeing that the *Spaniards* could not endure the inheritance should be conferred on the Duke of *Nevers*, and that therefore they would divert the Emperor from giving him the investiture, they resolved to do their best for to frustrate their designs, supposing it would be a cast too prejudiciall to them,

them, to see a Prince depending on the House of *Austria*, established in an Estate set in the midst of their own. That which most troubled the Republike, was the siege of *Rochell*, where the King of *France* was so ingaged, that he had not any hope to be free a long time. The *Pope* was agitated with the same motives as the Republick of *Venice*, but he could not so openly shew unto the King the desire which he had to disingage him from thence, least he should thereby witnesse that his particular interest was more prevalent then that of the *Catholick Church*, for the honor whereof they pleaded
in

in depressing the *Huguenots*.

The other Princes of *Italie* kept close, not daring to shew which way their inclination was bent.

The Duke of *Savoy* only imagined that he might profit by this warre, and upon the good opinion that he had of himselfe, was perswaded that he might share the conquest of *Montferrat* with the house of *Austria*.

The King of *Spaine* taking his advantage by the siege of *Rockell*, and by the presumption of the Duke of *Savoy*, thought fit to take his opportunitie to seise upon *Cazal*. Wee must confesse that his designe was well conceived,
and

and with great likelihood of a fortunate successe. Hitherto the *Spaniards* had in every thing so well taken their time, that it seemed a thing impossible to crosse their designes, nevertheless the wheele of their good fortunes began here to stop, and from hence forward we have seene a continuall company of ill accidents befall them, which last even to this day. For *L E W I S* by an incredible diligence and resolution takes *Rockell* in despite of the *English*, forceth the Streight of *Suze*, relieveth *Cazal*, and so endangers the Dutchie of *Milaine*, that had it not been for the troubles in *Languedock* which hee desired
to

to make an end of, he might have carried it away from the King of *Spaine* at the first blow.

The *Spaniards* secure themselves, and recovering the paths of their ordinary prudence, seise upon the *Grisons*, cause most mightie Armies to passe that way, send Marquesse *Spinola* to the government of *Milaine*, raise an armie in *Italie*, and besiege *Cazal* anew.

LEWIS sendeth strong forces into *Piemont*. The Duke of *Savoy* would amuse him with hopes of a peace: but he met with his match, with such an undaunted courage, that both in sight of him and *Spinola*,

nola, he forced from him *Pignerol*, which will be an everlasting memoriall to posteritie of the Reigne of LEWIS.

The siege of *Cazal* continues. The pestilence rageth in both the two armies. The *Venetians* receive an overthrow towards the *Mantuan*. The citie of *Mantua* is surprised. Notwithstanding all these accidents, LEWIS assembles new forces, and provides to relieve *Cazal*, In the meane time he falls sick at *Lyons*. The *Spaniard* sowes dissention in his Counsell, which interrupteth the course of so many heroike actions, and after so many stormes past, one seemes upon the point to suffer shipwrack

wrack in the haven. There appeared his vertue against whom all these devises were contrived, for at length he got out of this Labyrinth by the clue of honor. The King recovers his health : *Cazal* is bravely relieved : and the Duke of *Mantua* not only re-established in his Dominions, but (which will seem incredible to after-ages) he is invested therein by the Emperor. The *Grizons* are set at libertie : *Italy* is freed from the armies of Strangers : the port lies open to her assistance, and for divers defections of the Duke of *Lorraine*, they make sure of his Estates, by which meanes the communication of *Italie* with

with *Flanders* is barred.

See here the true and lively table of these differences, where note first of all the Duke of *Savoy* his fault in having imagined that he should share *Montferrat* with the House of *Austria* in despite of *France*, it being a case most evident, that he could not faile to be despoyled by the one or the other, or by both together, if extraordinary indulgence had not been used towards him.

It is also a thing wholly manifest that the Duke of *Lorraine* hath forsaken the maxime of his true interest in taking by a fit of jollitie the partie of the *Emperor* against that of *France*, in a season when the
House

House of *Austria* was so unable to defend herself, and that of *France* so free to enterprise.

As for the *Emperor*, he cannot excuse himself for having invaded *Italie* before he was sure of *Germanie*, and for having quitted the pretence of Religion (which hath so much served him) in oppressing the Duke of *Mantua* being a great *Catholick*.

The resolution of *France* will be for ever memorable, which notwithstanding the siege of *Rochell* assisted by the *English* : and the warre in *Laguedoc* which the *Spaniard* made shew to foment, hath not albeit ever abandoned her
 true

true maximes, in assisting powerfully her Neighbors, and every where dashing the projects of *Spaine*. Whence I conclude, that the glory of the King, the greatnesse of his State, and the eminent reputation that he now enjoyeth, will continue as long as he shall remaine constant in this resolution.

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FINIS.

